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THE  
BISHOP of SARUM'S  
Vindication.

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1696

1696

THE

RECORDS OF THE

175  
1696  
1696



REFLECTIONS  
UPON A  
PAMPHLET,

Entituled,

[*Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and  
Dr. Tillotson, Occasioned by the  
Late Funeral-Sermon of the Former  
upon the Later.*]

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By the Right Reverend Father in God,  
GILBERT Lord Bishop of SARUM.  
[Burnet]

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L O N D O N:

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1891

Received of the Treasurer  
of the Church of the  
Episcopal Diocese of the  
State of New York  
the sum of \$100.00

for the purchase of  
the new organ of the  
Church of the

100.00

Witnessed by the  
Pastor and the  
Wardens of the Church of the  
Episcopal Diocese of the  
State of New York

Reflections upon a Pamphlet  
Entituled, *Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet  
and Dr. Tillotson, &c.*



**I**T is so natural for Men that lose their Places to lose their Tempers and their Fortunes at once; that some allowances are to be made to the Peevishness, which often follows ill circumstances: But how gently soever Men under this Paroxysm may be treated, yet we cannot but observe, that of all the sorts of Men, who have within the me-  
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## The Bishop of

mory of the present Age been of the suffering Side, never any suffer'd so little, and raged so much as the <sup>Loyalists</sup> ~~Jacobites~~ at present do. They have lost their Preferments, and some of them are doubly Taxed; but they are not hunted from place to place, nor vexed with Imprisonments and Prosecutions. They live at *quiet*, even when they do all they can to let no body else have *quiet* about them. Some of them were so far gratified, that they named their Successors into their Benefices, of which it is believed they do still receive the greatest part. I leave it to this Author's Ingenuity and Gratitude, to own what share he had in this. But tho some Serpents may be charmed, there is a *Generation of Vipers* that *shut their Ears*, and after all that has been done either in  
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## Sarum's *Vindication*.

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the way of Argument, or of Gentleness, will not be *charmed*, but will bite and poyson all they can. I hope they are not all of the same temper, I should be heartily sorry if they were; for I had much rather bear all the ill effects of their Malice, than be under the power of that Gall and Spite that does possess too many of them. They think they do well to give it a vent; it is perhaps some ease to themselves to have thrown out so much Venom: But I can assure them, they do us no hurt by it, and give us no disturbance; it is as harmless as a Bee's striking with his Tail when he has lost his Sting. It is indeed a Melancholy thing to see such a Scandal brought on Religion, as must arise from all Books of this kind. Such a way of writing convinces few, and

pleases none but those who are as ill-natur'd as the Writers themselves; and how much soever they may be troubled when they are told of the *smallness of their Numbers*, yet it is to be hoped, for the good of Mankind, that there are not many such among them as this Author is.

Mankind is indeed enough disposed to receive Defamation from what hand soever it comes; and no sort of it is so welcome, as when the Clergy defame one another; yet when it is manag'd with so particular a virulence of Seate<sup>d</sup> and blackness of Malice, it grows too fulsome and odious, few can bear it; few believe a Man who shews too much heat, to be sincere or candid; it really turns back upon those who use it. The World will think the worse  
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of Men when they seem to be Frantick with Rage : This Spirit has such ugly Characters, that how much soever Men may be pleased at first reading, with the Maledicence of Libels, yet they desire to have them a little better dressed up, and not delivered so crudely as they are here : For though there is a strange Leaven in all the Books that come from that Party, yet there are some which have so peculiar a sourness that the Author is presently known ; and as in his other pieces he exceeds the bitterness of the whole Fraternity, so it must be confessed that he has in these Discourses exceeded himself.

To violate the quiet of the Dead, and pursue the Ashes of Men who have finished their Course, would pass for a Crime against

against Nature, even amongst Barbarous Nations. The keenness with which this is manag'd is here so singular, that he must try all his own reading to find a pattern to it; mine affords me none at all. But as he cannot disturb those *Blessed Souls* who have now entred into their *Rest*; so neither will his impotent Malice signify much to lessen the Veneration that this Age pays their Memory.

As for my part in this Book, which is the first, as well as the longest Act of the *Fable*, if it had not been for two or three particulars which seem to need Explanation, I should with no trouble to my self have born all that he throws at me. I have been long accustomed to bear the Malice of the (more than supposed) Author;



thor; for above twenty Years he has been, without ceasing, pursuing me with it; though I thank God for it I never had any Acquaintance with him; I never once spoke with him, for ought I know; nor did I ever hear that he has so much as pretended that I ever provoked him. He has been at me in many of his Pamphlets, and I have still let him rail on; and unless the neglecting his Malice has offended him, I do not know that I have ever said or done any thing that could feed so long and so black a Spite. It must be a peculiar Venom that he has, which can preserve it self without any Food given it, any thing to nourish or quicken it. But I do not love the sight or smell of Poyson so well, as to dwell too long upon it.

I will

I will not pursue him through his lesser digressions, which come in as the Ornaments or Interludes of the *Fable*. I will say what is necessary to discover the falshood of the main parts of it, upon which the rest is built. I will not quarrel with him for his disparaging my *Stile*, my *Learning*, and *Preaching*. In these I have done my best, and I hope God will accept of that: I am not much mortified with his Contempt, nor will I give over my Endeavours to do what small Service I can, though he is pleased to undervalue them: I had much rather with the *Roman Emperor* say, *Utinam nescirem Literas!* than have Studied to such purposes as he has done: And I had much rather that my

P.87,88. *Stile* were liable to all the Censures with which he threatens me,  
 than

than that it should be all over such a Solecism in Christianity as his is. I pray God forgive him all his Malice and Calumny, and give him a better Mind. God pity him, and deliver him from it, for I am very sure he suffers more by it, than any other man can do from it. There is a *great Day coming*, in which he must Answer to the *Just and Righteous Judge*, for all that Malice that he has been long breathing, and for all those Slanders which he has been throwing out on many men better than himself. I pray God give him the due sense of this in time, before it is too late. And there I leave him.

I had in my Sermon at the Archbishop's *Funeral* said these Words of the *Non-Juror Bishops*; *They left their Authority entirely with their*

*their Chancellors, who Acting in their Name, and by their Commission, were the same Persons in Law with themselves; Oaths were tendered to others, and taken by them in their Name, which they thought Unlawful. This touch'd in the quick, and it is no wonder if they felt it sensibly. But why must they publish this? Surely their wiser way had been either to have let it gone over in silence, or to have Answered it to purpose. The thing they are charged with is either False in Fact, or True; if false, they should have denied it, and put me to the proof. If the matter of fact was true; either the thing was to be justified, or at least a frailty was to have been acknowledged, or excused the best way they might. But this Author, instead of Answering the Charge, thinks in his Preface to*  
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carry it off by a Story, false in all its main parts, with which he Charges me. But if that had been as true, as it is false, it had not justified them: It might have indeed obliged me to have been more reserved, but their fact was still what it was. I will only set down both Facts one against another, and so leave the matter to the Inferences which every Reader will easily make.

He tells a long Story of a Clergyman with whom I was much displeased; and after I had vented it in many severe words, I used an Imprecation against my self, if ever I granted him Institution; but afterwards to avoid this, I order'd *My Chancellor* to do it. It seems that Clark has sent in his Paper to their Office of Intelligence; and therefore if this mat-  
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ter is truly published, he must blame himself for it. The Man is Mr. *Lambert*, now Rector of *Boyton* and *Sherington*, Two Livings at a Miles distance one from another. He is descended of a very worthy Family; but at the time of the Revolution he broke the course of his Studies, and bore Arms in it. He had an Old Reverend Uncle, Dr. *Lambert*, possess'd of those Two Livings, which belong to the Family who was then declining; so in hope of succeeding him, he was perswaded to pursue his Studies: His Uncle informed me of all this. For a whole Summer I directed him in his Studies; and ordered him to come frequently to me, that I might observe what progress he made; which he did; I still found him very ignorant; I warned him

him often, that neither the Merits of the Family, nor his own Serving under the Present King, would bias me, or make me give him Orders, till I saw him better qualified for it. At the *Michaelmas* Ordination, he offered himself to Examination, and his Knowledge was found to be so defective, that he whom I desired to Officiate as Archdeacon, since his Uncle who was Archdeacon did not come abroad, said, he could not with a good Conscience present him. I desired him to Study till the next *Ember Week*. But he took advantage of the Vacancy of the See of *Canterbury*, and obtained a *Faculty* (upon what considerations they who granted it, know best) upon a Petition, in which he pretended that he was Nominated to a Curacy in

B      *Oxfordshire,*

*Oxfordshire*, in order to which he desired he might have both *Orders* in one day : The Faculty was directed to the Lord Bishop of *Exeter*, or any other Bishop : That Noble Prelate very Canonically refused to Ordain one, who he knew belonged to my Diocese, suspecting somewhat that was not fair. Another was more easily imposed on, and so he had both *Orders* together, upon this false suggestion, which was believed without examining it. A few days after this he brought me his Presentation. I looked upon all this as such a Sacrilegious mocking of God, and a getting into Holy Orders by a Trick and a Lie, that I thought myself bound to lay this matter very severely home upon the Conscience of this Clark : He seem'd ve-



ry little sensible of it, which made me redouble my severity; I told him positively I would give him no assistance towards the obtaining of his Plurality; but for his first Living I immediately assigned him a day for his Examination before Two of the Dignitaries of this See. I did examine him rigorously, and he answered very defectively: So I refused his Presentation, and left him to the Law. It lay a Month thus. Then some of his Friends desired me to admit him to come again and Confess his Offence, and to Examine him more gently. I did it in the presence of Dr. *Geddes* Chancellor of my Church. He with Tears Confessed his Fault, and pleaded his Ignorance of the Rules of the Church. I accepted of his Excuse,

and proceeded to a second Examination, in which I found his measure of Knowledge the lowest that ever I passed; yet since it would have answered the Letter of the Law, I submitted, and gave my *Fiat* to his Presentation. But the *Parchment-Tax* had put me under some difficulties, because I could not be sure of the Value of Benefices, and therefore I had left with my Chancellor a Power to grant Institution upon my *Fiat*. And thus I sent him to *Salisbury* for Institution: but when he had obtained a Dispensation for his second Living, in which I gave him no Assistance, as I told him I would not; being then return'd to *Salisbury*, I gave him Institution my self: For I made a difference between the doing of that which was Incumbent on my Function,

Function, and that which was a meer Act of Grace and Favour. I would not encourage a man that had entred into Orders in so Unlawful a way, by doing any thing for him, to which I was not obliged. This is a true and full account of that matter; in which it appears, that I have followed the Rules of the Church without any partiality, either in favour of a very Noble Family, or of one who had born Arms in this Revolution. And this I do publish with the more assurance, because I gave this account of that whole matter in *September* last, at my *Triennial* Visitation, in the face of the Clergy and Countrey, the Person concerned being present; who indeed offered to interrupt me, but though I had no reason to suffer that, I gave him his turn to

Speak when I had done: But he did not pretend to deny any one Circumstance of it.

Now I come to set against this the other part of the Story, to which these words in my Sermon belonged. I shall first tell that Instance which I had best reason to know. When my Election to this See, in which I serve, was returned and confirmed, the Precept for my Consecration went to the Archbishop in course. Archbishop *Sancroft* said he would not obey it: Some Bishops tried to persuade him, but in vain. The Earl of *Nottingham* tried, and succeeded no better. The Party got it among them, that he had promised them not to do it. But as the time came on, and he saw that he must be sued in a *Præmunire*, when this was laid before him,

him, he all on the sudden ordered two Commissions to be drawn, both which he Signed and Sealed, and both are yet extant : One directed to the Archbishop of York and all the Bishops of *England*; The other to the Bishop of *London* and all the Bishops of the Province, to execute his Metropolitick Authority during pleasure. This last was made use of; and pursuant to it I was Consecrated; so this was as much his own *Act*, as if he himself had Consecrated me. His Vicar-General produced this Commission, and was present at my Consecration, and all the Fees were paid to his Officers, for care was taken to reserve them. Here is only the half of the Story, a blacker Scene follows. It seems the Party complained of this, and he to give

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them some Satisfaction, sent by Mr. *Wharton* a Message (unless he went in his Name without Order) to Mr. *Tillet* the Register, to send him that *Commission*: it was sent, and was withdrawn. This was not only the Violating of Registers, but it was a plain Robbing me of that Writing upon which the Canonicalness of my Consecration, and my Legal Right to this Bishoprick was founded. By telling this I am far from intending to lay any hard Character on the Memory of that Archbishop: I look on it as an effect of the Injustice and Violence of the *Party*, by which he might be carried too easily, to some things against his own Mind. Thus it continued till many Months after his Death, when notice was given to me of it by  
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one who had occasion to know it. Upon enquiry I found it was true, and I took advice upon it. It was thought necessary to bring this Matter into Chancery, to examine all Persons concerned in it upon Oath, and to prove the Tenor of the Commission. I gave notice of my design to Mr. *Tillet*, and let him know, that if he did not recover that Commission between that time and *Michaelmas-Term*, I would sue him in Chancery, in order to the discovery of the Matter. He best knows how he bestirred himself upon this occasion. The Commission was brought back to him; but by whom, I have not made it my business to enquire.

Let the Reader judge if the Story that he objects to me meets this, or can in any sort be wrested to

to turn it upon me. I go next to the other particulars.

When the Act obliging the Clergy to take the Oaths to their Majesties was in debate in Parliament, I was earnestly spoke to, in order to the diverting of it, and a Scheme was laid how the Church should be taken care of, if the Bishops that refused the Oaths should be connived at; of which the main Branch was this, That Church-Matters might be administred by their Chancellors, who were ready to take the Oaths themselves, and to tender them to others. This I thought they might do without taking new Commissions from their Bishops; and therefore according to those Inclinations which I have, and always had to Moderation, I closed with this, and I have many  
Honour-



Honourable Witnesses of the Zeal with which I promoted it. The Act pass'd as it is; and because six Months were to run before the Suspension of the *Non-Jurors*, in which they might have been overwhelmed with Actions upon *Quare Impedit*, they left that Matter to their Chancellors. They are, it is true, as to the Government of the Diocess, in Acts of Delegated Power, the same persons in Law with the Bishops; yet since the Year 1662, Bishops had limited them as to many particulars, and chiefly in the point of *Institutions*. But this restraint was taken off, either by new Commissions, or by a connivance of the Bishops. And how liable soever a Chancellor may be to a Forfeiture for giving *Institutions*, if his Patent limits him, yet if he grants it, it will

will hold good in Law. I have not examined in every See how this Matter was managed; but so it was, that generally their Chancellors did it without any restraint or stop put to it from them. And this was all I said; and so I think that part of my Sermon is sufficiently made good; what is further to be said on this Head, will come in its proper place.

Men commonly chuse out the best of what they have to say, and put it in the Preface, which many will read who will hardly give themselves the trouble to go much further. A Preface that begins with so much falshood, is not very inviting. The Book and Preface are of a piece, and both are well suted to one another. I will go through all those parts

parts of it, which may be apt to make an Impression. But because the greatest part of his Charge, not only against me, but against the late Most Reverend Archbishop, is founded on this, that we once in Books and Sermons declared our selves fully and positively against all *Resistance*; chiefly on the account of *Religion*, from whence he infers, that we are Apostates, by our approving the late Revolution, and acting in it, or under the present Authority; I will enlarge a little on this: though I will not follow him in his scurrilous Expressions (such as the calling me a *shameless* Pag. 6. Writer, whom an impenitent Conscience hath hardened against the Confusion of Remorse and Blushing, and made one of the greatest Examples of Impudence that ever Dishonoured the Law-sleeves.)

*sleeves.* ) He writes in this Style all through ; but I will not hereafter so much as take notice of his foul Language, I will content myself to answer every thing that seems to have the Face of an Argument.

He cites some passages out of a Book that I wrote Four and twenty Years ago when I was in Scotland, in which I asserted, *The Unlawfulness of Subjects resisting their Kings upon the pretence of Religion.* To this he adds several other passages collected out of some of my Sermons and Letters ; and upon all this he concludes, that I have Apostatized from a Doctrine that I had long professed ; and in setting this out he is not wanting in the Figures of that Eloquence, in which he allows himself so free a scope. This is urged not  
only

only against my self, but against all those who have taken the Oaths, and are *faithful* to the present Government. For those, who have taken the Oaths but are *unfaithful* to it, are much courted by him : So let a Man prevaricate even to Perjury, and to the mocking of God in a constant course of Worship against his Conscience, yet if he be but of their side, he may hope for fair usage from them. I leave them to consider how they can answer this to God. And now to answer his Objection.

When I was engaged to write in Defence of the Government of Scotland, against some Seditious Books that were then published ; I, even in that Work, avowed a Principle that I had been bred to, and from which I had never departed.

parted. That in the case of a total Subversion of a Constitution the Prince might be resisted. I formed my Studies in this point chiefly upon Barclay and Grotius, who both allow of it. It was not necessary to own this when I was writing against Men who asserted, That Subjects in the Cause of Religion might resist their Princes, even when they were acting according to Law; yet so open was I then in owning my own Opinion, that I said in express words, That in case the Magistrate

Confer. p. 16, 17. *be furious, or desert his Right, or expose his Kingdom to the fury of others, the Laws and Sense of all Nations agree, That the States of the Land are the Administrators of the Power till he recover himself. And a little after, these words follow, The case varies much when the abuse is such,*

such, that it tends to a total Subversion; which may be justly called a Phrensy, since no Man is capable of it till he be under some lesion of his Mind; in which case the Power is to be administered by others for the Prince and his People's Safety. But this will never prove, that a Magistrate governing by Law, though there be great Errors in his Government, may be resisted by his Subjects. And this is the Argument which I pursue quite through that Book; and upon it I examine what the Laws and Constitutions of particular Governments were, upon which I fixed the Principles of Obedience. I will not say that all the Arguments that I used are good; I have answer'd some of them since; but my Opinion was the same then, that it is now; and I had the Courage to own it, even when I

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was

was Writing against Resistance. To all this I adhered so firmly of late, that when many in *England* sent over Messages to *Holland*, first upon the occasion of the *High Commission*, and then upon the business of *Magdalen College*, moving His Present Majesty, then Prince of *Orange*, to think of preserving this Church and State; and when it was affirmed, that many Divines thought it lawful; I did still oppose it zealously. I have one Witness in Heaven, and another upon Earth, who is beyond exception; besides several others, to whom I always delivered my self, thus: These were Illegal and Tyrannical Acts I did not deny: But what tendency soever they might have, by their natural Consequences, to a total subversion of our Constitution, yet they were  
not



not a *total subversion* of it : And therefore, if upon those grounds a Breach had followed, I declared to them, whom I afterwards served, That I could not have gone into it, nor have served in it. For I ever thought, and do still think, that Acts of Tyranny, and the remote Consequences of them, did not justify the resisting of Princes. I said, When a *total subversion* of our Constitution should be plainly apparent, then, and not till then, I thought the Late King's *Authority* would come under such a *Suspension*, that he might be resisted : And that if he would not return to a Just Government, but would forsake his People, then his *Authority* was determined by an Act of his own. I was still so firm in my Loyalty, that till I was Naturalized a Subject of the States,

I did not so much as know of any Designs to use Force: And when I thought it was lawful for me to know and conceal them, I still adhered to the Principle to which my Father had bred me, whom I may, without vanity, name upon this occasion; since it is well known in *Scotland*, that he was the most eminently distinguished of any man in that Kingdom for his constant adhering to the Interest and Service of the Crown: He was thought no ordinary Man in his Profession, which was the Law. This Principle he infused into me early. And in this I had, without one single deviation, continued all along; That till a *total Subversion* was set about, we were still *Subjects*, and bound to submit.

But when Ambassies went between *England* and *Rome*, when  
Popish

Popish Bishops were publicly authorised to act as the *Popes Delegates in England*, and when a *Dispensing Power* was not only claimed by several Publick Acts of State, but that all the Clergy were required to publish this, under severe Penalties; I then thought, as I do still, that this struck at the Root of our whole Constitution: The Fundamental Article of it is this, That we are a Nation governed by *Laws*, agreed to by our *Selves*, and not by the *meer Will* of our *Kings*; and that we are an entire Body within our selves, not subject to any Foreign Jurisdiction. Then my first Principle led me to think, That the Late King might be restrained: But his going away afterwards, when so fair a Proposition was made to him, of leaving all the Concerns

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of the Nation to its only proper Cure, *A Free Parliament*, which was signified to him before he left *Whitehall*; I judged, That this *Withdrawing* was a plain *Desertion*. Upon these Grounds I thought his Authority, which was before only *suspended*, was now quite *sunk*: So that the Nation had a right to secure and settle it self.

I will not go further at present to justify all this. I have done it upon other Occasions; my Design at present is only to shew, That here was no change of Principles, nor departing from former Opinions.

But as this may serve to justify my self, who had expressly and publickly owned a reserve for Resistance in case of a *total Subversion*; so I must add, that to my knowledge, other Divines still understood

stood that Doctrine of *Non-resistance* with this Reserve; though they did not think it necessary to mention it. If a man were to exhort married Persons to their duty, he might use that general Expression of St. Paul, *That the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church; and that as the Church is subject unto Christ, so wives ought to be subject to their own husbands in every thing*: He might say all this, without an Exception; and yet in the Case of Intolerable Cruelty, the Wife may see to her own Preservation; but *Desertion* or *Adultery* sets her more at liberty. In the same manner, when we exhort Children to *obey their parents in all things*; we do not suppose the Case of their Parents going about to kill them, nor argue what they may do in such a

Case. Extraordinary Cases ought not to be supposed, when we give the Directions that belong to the ordinary course of Life; and therefore Divines might preach Submission in very large and full Expressions, who yet might believe, That a *total Subversion* was a Case of another nature, which might warrant more violent Remedies. This I am sure was our late Primate's Opinion. This was that which we laid before that Great, but Innocent Victim, that was sacrificed to the rage of a Party, I mean the Lord Russell, who was condemned for *Treasonable Words*, tho there was not one Witness that swore one *Word* against him: it being only deposed, That *Treasonable Words* were said in his hearing; to which, as was sworn, he was consenting, tho  
no

no *Words* of His were expressed, that imported any such consent. The true Case of that whole matter was stated thus ; A visible Design was carried on to bring in *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*. In order to that, *Quo Warranto's* were brought against several Cities and Boroughs, which would have changed the Constitution of the House of Commons; and *Sheriffs* unduly Elected, were put on the City of *London*, on design, as was believed, to pack Juries. These things were thought just grounds of Resistance; the late Primate and my self were of another Opinion; We knew, or at least had reason to believe we knew, the Secret of the King's Religion who then reigned; and did not doubt of the bad Designs that were then on foot, and of the

the illegal Actings of that time ; yet we still thought, that remote Fears and Consequences , together with illegal Practices, did not justify *Resistance* ; but that the Laws both of the Gospel and of the Land, did bind us in that case to submission. That Lord upon this said, *He did not see a difference between a Legal and a Turkish Constitution, upon this Hypothesis* : And when we told him , That a total *Subversion* changed the Case ; He answered, *Then it would be too late to resist*. In all that Affair , the late Primate had the same Opinion , and no other than that he had to the last. Some particular Considerations restrained him from Writing about it ; but he did not decline to explain this, as oft as there was occasion given for it.

Upon



Upon the whole matter, there are two Questions in the Point of *Resistance*: The one is, Whether Subjects may *Resist* meerly upon the account of Religion, or not, either to force a General Reformation, or to secure themselves from Persecution? The other is concerning the Constitution of States and Kingdoms; and of this in particular, How far they have retained or lost their Liberties? The one is a Point of Divinity, the other is a Point of Law and History. As to the first, I do not know one of all the Divines that have sworn to the present Government, who are not still of the same Opinion that they were formerly of, and that do not still judge *Resistance* on the account of Religion to be unlawful. Nor does it any way reflect on them, if they should

should have changed their Opinion in the other Point, which falls not so properly within their Studies. They might have been misled by Chimerical Notions of *Imperial and Political Laws*; they might have thought, that the Zeal with which some had promised to stand it out against a Popish King, threatning that they would tell him to his Face (at least owning that it was their Duty to do it) That he was an *Idolater, a Bread-worshipper, a Goddess-worshipper*, with a great many other fine Names, that they said they would give him. They might, I say, have thought, that we were safe under the Conduct of Men, who were so bold when there was no danger; but were much tamer and more cautious as the danger came nearer them. Thus many might

Jovian, p.  
96.

go into wrong Notions of our Government, and think we had no Liberties left us, but what were at the discretion of our Princes. It is no Derogation from the Learning and Studies of Divines to own, that tho they are still of their former Opinion in that which is Theological, and that was only incumbent on them to know; yet in matters of Law and Policy, they might have been led into mistakes. This answers all that pompous Objection, with which so much noise is made, and upon which so many ill Words have been fastened. A great many have not at all changed their Opinion, even in this second Point; and others do see that they were mistaken in their Opinion concerning our Constitution, and the nature of Laws and Legal Security;

riety; and the Right that arises out of these, in the case of a *Total Subversion*. It will not be easy to see the advantage that Atheistical or Immoral Men can draw from any part of this, how earnest soever our Author is to furnish them with it, as a just prejudice against us, and against all that we can say or do.

But if there are any who can Swear against their Consciences, and can continue in Acts of Worship, Prayers, and Thanksgivings, Ordinary or Extraordinary, while their Persuasions are full to the contrary; if there are any who Pray for the King, while they Talk and Act against him; these are the Men who bring a scandal on our Holy Religion; they sell their Consciences, and sacrifice that which they fancy  
to

to be Loyalty, for the Conveniences of this Life, that they may hold their Livings and Preferments.

And yet these are the Men that our Author courts; he has kind thoughts of them; and he takes pains to assure us, that we have many of them among us. If we have any number of such, I am sorry for it. I will hope rather, that he is an *unjust accuser of the brethren*, than believe that we have many of this kind; who are certainly the worst sort of Men in the Nation.

There is a Respect due to such as are willing to Suffer for their Consciences: And if they who left their Benefices, had not likewise left their Tempers and their other Principles, we should still pay them all due Respect, which we shewed

shewed universally to them all at first. But for such Perjured Men as can Swear and Pray against their Consciences, they are the Shame of the Church. We are not concerned to excuse them, but leave them to such Apologies as our Author may make for them.

I thought this matter required to be Treated more largely than the other Particulars, which will be sooner dispatched. I will just name them with such Remarks on them, as the nature of them may seem to require. As for that which is mere Fiction and Calumny, I will pass over a great deal of it: For if that which seems to be supported with some colour of Proof, shall be found to be groundless, then every Reader will be so equitable as to acknowledge, that no sort of Credit is  
due

due to stories reported, as many of his are, merely upon hearsay.

Some of these are so ridiculous that Shame, if not Honesty, should have restrained him. Such is this, That the late Primate <sup>Pref.</sup> went about after this Revolution, <sup>near the</sup> to set on foot again the Opinion <sup>end,</sup> of the late Duke of *Monmouth's* being Legitimate; and Argued, *That therefore we could not be bound by our Oaths to King James, since another had the Right of the Crown in him.* He fancies that I was the first Author of those Stories: And yet at the time when he says this was done, we were taking pains to persuade the World to Submit to the Present Government. I was then the Prince of *Orange's* Servant; the late Primate was one of those that gave him a hearty welcome, and took great pains to

D                      settle

settle the Waverings of some Peoples Minds in this matter. And what methods took we for it? Why, to insinuate that the Right of the Crown was still in another; that the Righteous Heir who had left Issue behind him, was Wrong'd and put to Death Unjustly: *Risum teneatis*. This Author may be accustomed to such ways of Reasoning. The late Primate used not to Argue at that rate. But here is too much time lost on such an extravagant piece of Falshood and Impertinence.

Pag. 8.

He reflects on my urging the case of the *Maccabees* in a late Book, which I had fully Answered before in my Book against Resistance. I have already said, that tho I retain the same Principle that I had advanced when I writ that Book, yet I may have changed my  
my



my opinion of several of the Arguments that I had made use of in it. This was one of them; for I had relied upon the common Answer made to the Objection from the *Maccabees*, that they were *Zealots*; so that what they did was no Precedent. This I do answer fully in my late Book; and shew that the Case of the *Maccabees* proves, that tho *Acts of Tyranny* will not justify the Resistance of Subjects, yet a *Total Subversion* of their Constitution will. A man studies to little purpose, if after an Interval of Twenty Years he does not examine the Matters that are before him more critically than he did when he was so much younger. It had been a fairer thing in our Author to have shew'd wherein the Argument, as I put it in my last Book, was weak or ill-grounded; but none of them

Pref. to  
Four Dis.

have yet attempted that. It is a much easier way to fly off from a hard piece of labour, than to go through with it. So they would excuse the not answering of Dr. *Hody*.  
 Pag. 87. He has fully ended the Argument that he had begun, from the Practice of the Church; and that in so convincing a manner, that Matters of Fact seemed not capable of a clearer Proof. But the not answering his Book, is now excused upon this pretence, Because he had promised another Treatise, *Of the Power of the Magistrate in such cases*; which he has not thought necessary to enter upon, till he sees what is said to his Book, in which he has fully concluded the Argument upon which the Dispute first began: And the not publishing this, is made an excuse for their not answering the other. We know the  
 true

true reason why it is not answered is, because it cannot be answered. Men may wrangle on eternally in Points of Speculation; but Matters of Fact are severe things, and do not admit of all that Sophistry.

He runs out into a long Digres- Page 9.  
sion, upon my having believ'd the Story of the *Thebean Legion*, when I writ in *Scotland*; which yet I rejected as Fabulous, in my Preface to *Lactantius*: Here he had an itch to argue, and he runs out a great way. That in a Matter of Fact a man should change his Opinion, upon the discovery of a new Book of History, writ by one who lived in the time, is a thing that would be objected by no man who were not blinded by Spite. *Lactantius* was Tutor to *Constantine's* Son *Crispus*, so he had opportunities to know the Concerns of that Fam-  
ily,

ly, and of their Share of the Empire. He wrote his Book of the Death of the Persecutors, when the Facts were fresh in all mens memory; and he not only says nothing of that matter, but says in express words, That Constantius did not execute the Edicts; so that the Persecutions did not reach Gaul, nor his Share of the Empire. One would think that this was enough to destroy the Credit of a Legend, that was before that looked on as very doubtful: But no doubt can remain after so positive an Authority against it. I will not pursue this matter further, but leave him to flourish upon it, and to argue as long as he will upon the Authorities of Grotius and Usher, who never saw this Book of Lactantius.

For ought I know there is not one Learned Man now in the world, who does not think of this Legend as a fable, who says of which story and so a great many more, and who call in question the truth of it. It being not only proved that by Eucherius, but by Venerandus, Fortunatus, Hadradius, 1350a, Usuardus & Ado. Origines Britannica. p. 71.

that supports that Story, since this Book *de Mortibus Persecutorum* has been published.

He charges me as if I had own'd Page 12.  
in Company, that I was pitched upon to break the design of *deposing the late King*, to our late *Blessed Queen*, two Years before the Revolution. He vouches Witnesses for this the Bishop of *Worcester* (whom he very modestly and gratefully calls *Dr. Stillingfleet*) and Bishop *White*. I will not forestal what either of those Reverend Persons may say; but I will assure our Author that it is all a downright Forgery of the blackest sort. This and all the Circumstances that either here or in any other part of these Discourses are brought to adorn it, are all false. I had not the Honour to see or speak with our late *Blessed Queen*, for Two Yeats together

before the Revolution. Mr. d'Albeville had it in Commission to gain that point of *Her* not seeing me, before he entred upon other Business, and it was granted. And She was a Princess so strict to Truth, that having once said that She would not see me, She adhered exactly to it. So till a few days before we left the *Hague*, I saw *Her* no more. And then there was no occasion for persuasion; the Matter was all settled. Nor did I ever enter upon that Argument with *Her*, till Two Years after She was Queen of *England*. Then I did it upon an occasion that led to the Discourse. I saw that She had consider'd it on all its Sides, and in all its Branches. In any other Person I should have been amazed at it, but I had been accustomed to see so great an Exactness in every Particular

ticular through *Her* whole Conduct, that nothing of that kind from *Her* could surprize me. I did once in *September*, 1686. speak to *Her* of Matters relating to this, but it was upon another Key. Upon the setting up the High-Commission, and the Prosecution of my Lord Bishop of *London*, some began to think that all was gone, and that violent Remedies were necessary. Upon that I delivered my sense very fully to *Her*, according to what I set down in the former part of this Discourse; That I made a great difference between *Illegal Acts*, and a *Subversion*. I was afraid things would grow to a *Subversion*; but till that appeared, I could not think it lawful to go into violent Methods. And I can assure the World, that in the List of the Divines who were represented as  
wishing

9  
wishing that the ( then ) *Prince*  
would engage in our Defence, the  
late Dean of *Worcester* was named  
for one; how truly, he best knows.  
When I heard that upon the busi-  
ness of *Magdalen-College*, many  
thought that then it was high time  
to interpose. I then Writ ( for I  
saw not the late *Queen* all that  
while ) that even upon that Inci-  
dent, I did not judge Resistance  
Lawful. Then I drew up a Paper,  
in substance the same with the ge-  
neral part of that, which was after-  
wards Published under the Title  
of *The Measures of Submission*: And  
that was all the share I had in that  
matter. Our late Blessed *Queen*  
was not a Person of so pliant an  
Understanding, as to be wrought  
upon by any. If ever the Sacred  
Remains of Her Pen are suffered to  
come abroad, then the World will  
see



see with what a searching Understanding She penetrated into things; and how little it was in the power of any Mortal to impose upon Her. This was a Subject that She had so well Studied, that tho She touched seldom upon it, yet She was as much the Master of the whole Argument, as any Person I ever knew.

Of a peice with this Falshood, is that which he says concerning my Reading Prayers in the Princesses (our Late Queen's) Chappel at the *Hague*, when the Prince of *Wales* was Prayed for. It is notoriously known, that I never once Read Prayers in the Chappel at the *Hague*: For I had not the Honour to be the Prince (His Present Majesty's) Chaplain, till the Night before we left the *Hague*. These lies have been often told, and as often neglected:

Pag. 14.

neglected: For it were an endless labour to go and confute every Fiction that Angry Men think fit to publish. But since an Answer was judged necessary on this occasion, it was reasonable to go thorough with it, and to shew the Falshood of this sort of Men, that do now study with so restless and clamorous a Malice, to disturb our Quiet.

Pag. 15, He goes next to accuse me of a  
 16. Spirit of Persecution against the  
*Non-Jurors*: But when he brings  
 stories to confirm things of this  
 kind, he ought to have a little more  
 decency, than to lay the scene of his  
 Fictions in the Honourablest Body  
 in the World, I mean, the *House of*  
*Lords*. They would never suffer a-  
 ny of their Body to Argue in a  
 Cause only from the good or ill  
 Affections of the Party to the Go-  
 vernment.

vernment. None ever argued so all the while that I had the honour to sit there. So this is a fiction so entirely without a foundation that I cannot so much as guess either the Person, or the Cause that he aims at. I have as often argu'd with Zeal in the Causes of those whom I knew to be ill-affected to the Government, as in any other whatsoever; and never took the liberty to trouble that Great Body more frequently and more earnestly, than in the Debate for excusing the *Clergy* from having the Oaths imposed upon them: More in pursuance of a Principle of Moderation, from which I have never once departed; than from any very good Opinion that I had of most of those in whose favour I argued. As for his fine words, of *the death of a Dog, and the burial of an Ass*, they become

come the Author that forged them. The whole House of Lords knows that no such words were ever spoke by me within their walls.

As for my persecuting the Non-jurors, I have been so far from it, that I should rather have needed a Pardon from the Government for my behaviour towards them, but that I knew that in so doing I conformed my self to the Spirit of the Government, as well as I acted conform to my own Principles. I had but five Nonjurors in my Diocess. One of these, *Mr. Martin*, was continued by me in his Living to his Death, which happened two years ago, and I still paid him the Annual Income of his Prebend out of my own Purse. He would not indeed take the Oaths, but he would never join in the Schism with the rest of the *Non-jurors*, whose Principles

ciples and Practises, he said to me, he detested. Another of them, Mr. *Spinks*, enjoys a Donative to this day, which I suffer him to serve by a *Curate*, whereas I could require his serving the Cure in person; and he enjoyed his Prebend a year beyond the time prefixed by Law. Another of them, Mr. *Jones*, had the Nomination of his own Successor, whom I collated to his Living; a 4th, Mr. *Dickson*, died immediatly after the Deprivation by the Act of Parliament, but I shewed all possible regard to him as long as he lived. I reserve Dr. *Beach* to the last place. He has taken Liberties that few, if any, of them have taken. He kept himself violently in his Living for two years after he was by Law deprived. I was once so ill-advised, that I suffered him to talk with me alone. It was concerning  
a Ca-

a Caveat that he had entred against my instituting a Clark presented to his Living. His long Discourse, which our Author has published, is neither worth remembring nor repeating. I told him I must Institute the Clark that was Presented, except he could satisfy me that he had taken the *Oaths*: He would neither affirm nor deny that he had taken them, but thought that I was bound to prove the Negative, That he had not taken them: And among other things he said, *he desired no Mercy, but only Justice*. I told him that in this particular I could do neither. The Law was made; I was neither the Lawgiver, nor had I a Dispensing Power: He went away, and set it all about, that I had said, *That I would shew him neither Favour nor Justice*. Soon after that, he was Indicted for *Seditious Words*; and was brought

brought in *Guilty*: Then after all the Abuse with which he had endeavour'd to load me, he came and begged that I would interceed for him: I was more cautious than to trust my self again to his Honesty, or to speak alone with him. I first cleared my self of that false Imputation: But upon his begging my Favour, and promising to live Quietly, which he did in a Letter under his hand, that I still have, I writ so effectually to the Earl of *Nottingham* in his favour, that his Lordship returned me answer, That the Queen had Graciously granted my desire, but thought that he ought to make some publick acknowledgment, for the Scandalous Words that were proved against him: I by a Second Letter gained this point likewise, that no Confession should be insisted on. In return of which, Dr. *Beach* has held a Conventicle ever since at *Salisbury*; and pours out all the malicious stuff he

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can

can vent against me, and has now sent in this false Dialogue that our Author has published : But though I have had Informations brought me that are very Criminal against him, I have chosen rather to be too remiss, than to do any thing which might make those, who know what his behaviour towards me has been, fancy that it flowed from Resentment.

- Pag. 18, He Reproaches me for some high  
 19. Complements I gave to the Duke of *Lauderdale* in the Dedication of the Book that I writ in *Scotland*, and that yet afterwards I told a very different story concerning that Duke. And he tells a long tale of a Discourse between Mr. *Pit* and Me; of which I can say nothing, because I do not remember one word of it; but that I believe it is all over a Fiction. I writ that Book when the Duke of *Lauderdale* was the King's Commissioner in *Scotland*; he both desired the Dedication,



tion, and asked to see the Epistle Dedicatory. It is no wonder if one, then but Twenty eight years Old went too high in the Compliment : But if what happened a year and a half after that, gave me other thoughts of that Minister of State, that does not prove that I writ disingenuously at that time.

He says that I put many things in *Ibid.* my *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, to the Honour of the Duke of Lauderdale, which I left out in the Printed Edition. I see accidents may do people service. The very Copy that the Duke of Lauderdale Read, and that was Licens'd by Mr. Secretary Coven-try, has been carelessly left by me, these many years, in the Bishop of Worcester's hands : By it the falshood of this will appear to any, who will be at the pains to compare it with the Print : I left out nothing, for which the Duke of Lauderdale had furnished me with Vouchers. He indeed had

furnished me with Papers relating to a long story of an *Incident* in the year 1641. which Secretary *Coventry*, upon very good reasons, not necessary to be mentioned here, ordered me to leave out; and it is the main difference between that Copy and the Printed Book. But whosoever looks into Page 307, near the end, and sees no Name given to the Author of a Letter reported there, will conclude that I did not corrupt the Truth of History, by mixing my own Resentments with it: I was rather faulty the other way, in avoiding to name the greatest Enemy that I had then in the World, upon so odious an occasion, when the proof was so Authentical.

Pag. 20. He reproaches me for adding a Marginal Note to a part of Bishop *Bedell's* Book, in which he treats of *Subjects resisting their Princes*. There seems to be a fate on our Author, in publishing things of such a Nature, as  
must

must oblige me to discover Matters that will be little to the service of that Cause which he has espoused. When I writ Bishop *Bedell's* Life, his Book against *Wadsworth* was found to be so well written, and was so much out of print, that it was thought fit to reprint it, and bind it up with his Life. I could not but take notice of the Case of Subjects resisting their Prince, fully stated and justified by him; and that in a Book dedicated to King *Charles* the First, then Prince of *Wales*; and that this was never once objected to him, nor he obliged to retract it; but instead of that, he was afterwards made Provost of *Trinity* College in *Dublin*, and then Bishop of *Kilmore* and *Armagh*, in that Kingdom. This was one of the first Indications that I observed, which led me to see how late it was before this now so much contended for Opinion, was received as the Doctrine of this Church: I have another

that is later, as well as more publick. In the Year 1618. during the Siege of *Rockell*, there was a publick *Faſt* appointed upon that account over *England*: And the Beſieged were prayed for as our *Brethren*; and Succesſ to them was by that Form prayed for. I have the *Form of Prayer*: But it is at preſent lent out, otherwiſe I ſhould here ſet down ſome of the Expreſſions in that Office; which ſhews how far this Church was at that time from condemning *Reſiſtance* in all Caſes, as *Rebellion*:

But to return to Biſhop *Bedell's* Book. I thought my ſelf bound to warn Mr. *Chifwell* of that Paſſage. He was much threatned at that time for having printed *Julian*, and he was afraid of raiſing a new Storm againſt himſelf. I told him, I would not ſuffer the Book to be printed, unleſs that Paſſage were printed in it. He ſhewed it to Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, who would  
not

not let it pass, till several words were scattered quite through it, to give it an *Air*, as if *Bedell* had been only repeating the Arguments of other men: And yet even that did not serve turn.

A marginal Note was to be added to the end of that Paragraph (in p. 446. of *Bedell's* Letters in the 8<sup>vo</sup> Edition) which was framed by Sir *Roger* himself. Such was the Severity of our Expurgators at that time. I was very ill pleased with all this, but could not help it: All I could do, was to get those words put between Crotchets, so that the Reader by passing them over, might have seen the thread of *Bedell's* Discourse. And now what shall be said to our Author, who charges all this upon me? But to make the Importance of this matter appear the more sensibly, I will set down Bishop *Bedell's* own words as they were published by himself, without those later Vampings; and by

them the Reader will see, whether the Opinion of Resistance in the Case of a *total Subversion*, was so much condemned in this Church at that time, as the Men of that Cabal would now make the World believe. I need not put my Reader in mind of the state of Affairs here when the *Spanish Match* was in treaty. *Wadsworth* had Apostatised, and writ some Letters, to which an Answer was to be made. Bishop *Hall's* Letter is not equal to the other Productions of that *Holy Prelate*. But *Beddell's* Book was so well received, that we may well look on it as the sense of the Church of *England* at that time. His words upon the Head of Resistance are as follows.

“ Do you think Subjects are  
 “ bound to give their  
 “ Throats to be cut by  
 “ their Fellow-Subjects?  
 “ or to (1) their Prin-  
 “ ces

(1) Offer them without either humble Remonstrance or Flight

“ces at their mere Wills, against  
 “their own Laws and Edicts? You  
 “would know *quo jure* the Prote-  
 “stants Wars in *France*

“and *Holland* are justifi-

“ed. (2) First, The Law  
 “of Nature; which

“(3) not only allow-  
 “eth, but inclineth

“and inforceth every li-  
 “ving thing to defend

“it self from Violence.

“Secondly, That of

“Nations, which per-

“mitteth those that are in the Pro-

“tection of others, to whom they

“owe no more but an Honourable

“Acknowledgment, in case they go

“about to make themselves *Absolute*

“*Sovereigns*, and usurp their *Liberty*,

“to resist, and stand for the same.

“And if a Lawful Prince (which is

“not yet Lord of his Subjects Lives

“and Goods) shall attempt to despoil

“them

(2) I interpose not  
 my own Judgment, not  
 being throughly ac-  
 quainted with the Laws  
 and Customs of those  
 Countries; but I tell  
 you what both they  
 and the Papists also,  
 both in *France* and *Ita-  
 ly*, have in such Cases  
 alledged.

(3) they say

“ them of the same, under colour of  
 “ reducing them to his own Religion,  
 “ after all humble Remonstrances  
 (4) they “ they may ( 4 ) stand upon their  
 say “ own guard ; and being assail-  
 “ ed, repel Force with Force : As did  
 “ the *Maccabees* under *Antiochus*. In  
 “ which case notwithstanding, the  
 “ Person of the Prince himself ought  
 “ always to be Sacred and Inviolable,  
 “ as was *Saul’s* to *David*. Lastly, if  
 “ the enraged Minister of a Lawful  
 “ Prince will abuse his Authority,  
 “ against the Fundamental Laws of  
 (5) they “ the Countrey , ( 5 ) it is no Re-  
 say “ bellion to defend themselves a-  
 “ gainst Force ; reserving still their  
 “ Obedience to their Sovereign invio-  
 “ late. These are the Rules of which  
 “ the Protestants that have born Arms  
 “ in *France* and *Flanders*, and the Pa-  
 “ pists also both there and elsewhere,  
 “ as in *Naples*, who have stood for the  
 “ defence of their Liberties, have ser-  
 “ ved



“ved themselves. How truly, I  
 “esteem it hard for you and me to  
 “determine; unless we were more  
 “thoroughly acquainted with the  
 “Laws and Customs of those Coun-  
 “tries, than I for my part am.

I have in References over-against  
 these Words that were thus printed  
 in 1623, set down the Cautionary  
 Words of our Expurgators in 1685;  
 yet all that was not sufficient, without  
 the Addition of this Marginal Note at  
 the Conclusion of them; “*This Pass-*  
 “*sage above is to be considered as a Relati-*  
 “*on, not as the Author's Opinion; lest it*  
 “*should mislead the Reader into a dange-*  
 “*rous mistake.* This our Author with  
 his usual Candor lays to my charge.  
 I have been long uneasy under this  
 Fraud, which was imposed on the  
 world in a Book that was bound up  
 with another of my writing; and so  
 it might seem to lye at my door. I  
 was only waiting for a just occasion  
 to

to detect it ; which this Author has now given me ; for which I heartily thank him.

P. 20.

He next charges me with a Paper, stating the Lawfulness of *Divorce* in case of *Barrenness*, with relation to King *Charles* the Second's Marriage ; which he says was a Project of the Earl of *Shaftsbury's*, and his Party, to put by the Duke of *York*. I cannot reflect on this Author's way of writing, without remembering an *Italian Proverb*, that has indeed more of Sense than of Religion in it ; *God preserve me from my Friends, I will preserve myself from my Enemies*. The Reader will have occasion to reflect on this oftner than once, as he goes through these Remarks. What the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Designs in that matter were, I do not know ; for he never once spoke of them to me. But I remember well that the Duke ( then Earl of ) *Lauderdale* moved it to me. He was the first  
that

that ever discovered to me the Secret of King *James's* Religion ; and when he saw me struck with great apprehensions upon it, he fell upon the Head of *Divorce*, and told me many Particulars that I think fit to suppress. I afterwards knew that the Matter of *Fact* was falsely stated to me. I was then but Seven and twenty, and was pretty full of the Civil Law ; which had been my first Study. So I told him several things out of the *Digests*, *Code*, and *Novels*, upon that Head ; and in a great variety of Discourse we went through many parts of it ; He seemed surprized at many things that I told him ; and he desired me to state the matter in Paper. I very frankly did it , yet I told him I spoke of the sudden ; but when I went home among my Books, I would consider it more severely. The following Winter I writ to him, and retracted that whole Paper ; I answered the  
most

most material Things in it ; and I put a Confutation of my first and looser Thoughts, in a Book that I writ that Winter, which I can shew to any that desires it. The Duke of *Lauderdale* was too wise to publish any thing of this kind, tho in his passion he might have shewed it to this Author. He knew that he had pressed me to talk upon this Subject to the King himself ; which I had refused to do. A great deal more belongs to this Matter, which I think fit to suppress: None but such a Person as this Author is, would have published so much.

P. 21.

He reproaches me for publishing *King John's Great Charter* in a most *prevaricating manner, contrary to my own sight and knowledge* ; but he does not mention any particular. I have the Original still in my hands ; and have shewed it to a great many Persons, who do all know that I have not said one  
word

word of it, but what is according to the Original it self. This is a Calumny at large, and falls back on the Author.

He reproaches me for having in *Ibid.* the History of the Reformation published a Letter of *Luther's Imperfectly and Falsly*; upon which he charges me with *many Prevarications used to set up this Pattern of Comprehension*. I am now come to that which determined me to write these Remarks. I could otherwise have despised the Malice of this Man, with the same Patience and Easiness that I had formerly expressed when provoked by him. But, I confess, I have a true Zeal for maintaining the Honour of that *Work*, and to justify it from all Blemishes. I will not open so Black a Scene, as to tell what pains *Some* who are called *Protestants*, have taken to undermine the Credit of that Book. The three Persons who were most concerned in it have

have answered it elsewhere. Two of them were the underworkmen to one of a higher Form. But hitherto all the Attempts that have been made that way, have succeeded contrary to their expectation, to the raising and establishing the Credit of that Work. I was in Summer, 1679. desired by the present Most Reverend ABp. of *Canterbury* to go and examine the MSS. in *Corpus Christi* College. He met me there, and that Learned Society afforded me all Conveniences for Reading or Copying their MSS. I do also own the great Kindness shewed me at that time by Bishop *Turner*, who not only lodged me with himself, but furnish'd me with two *Amanuenses*, Mr. *Smith* and Mr. *Tomkinson*. They are now in the same Opinions and Circumstances with our Author; but they are Men of Truth and Probity; and I appeal to them how faithfully every thing was Copied out, and how exactly all  
was

was Compar'd. The Hands of the Reformers, *Luther's* in particular, were very hard to be read ; and tho I had then been much practis'd in reading the Hands of that Age, yet we were often put to guess, rather than read. In some Letters that could not be read, Archbishop *Parker* had writ their Reading on the Margent. That Letter of *Luther's* grew so hard to be read, that we could not go far in it ; so I only Copied out the beginning and end of it. Nothing could be built on it ; for I knew if this was a lucid Interval of his, it was a very short one. It was faithfully copied, just as we thought we had read it. It seemed to agree so entirely with the Method that most of the Divines of this Church took for a great while, of explaining Christ's Presence in the Sacrament by the Term *Real Presence*, without using the Word *Figure*, that tho I never liked that Method too  
F well,

well, (for I never cared to use the Phrase of *Real Presence*, nor avoided to call the Sacrament a *Figure*) yet I was willing to shew, that here a way was proposed, and as I thought once agreed to, of keeping the matter in those General Words: And thus in compliance with a Method that I had never used my self, I honestly published this, as I thought we had read it. No *Comprehension* could be designed by this; but that which has been promoted by many of the most Zealous Divines of this Church. The Learned and Noble *Seckendorf* addressed some Persons to me, to be satisfied concerning that Letter. I directed them the best I could. They had free Access given them; and they reported no difference to me, but *Nililominus* for *Nibil minus*. If either this was too hastily examined, or if the Writing seem'd to favour those Mistakes with which he charges me, of which I  
can



can say nothing at such a distance of time, I am sure whatever might occasion the Mistake, there was no Fraud intended ; there could be none: Nor was there any Consequence to be drawn from it. It only shewed what *Bucer's* Proposition was, to which I fancied that *Luther* had once agreed. But so exactly will I follow Truth, that whensoever an Attested Copy of that Letter is sent me from that Learned Body, which two Worthy Members of it have promised to procure for me, I will certainly publish it in the next Edition of my History. And now our Author, who has out of his small Stock cast in this Mite to the Treasure of that Church to which his Natural Temper does best entitle him, may see what great Inferences can be drawn from it. In a matter of no great consequence there was too little Care had in Copying or Examining a Letter writ in a very Bad Hand.

Pag. 23.

He reproaches me for joining my self with one of the Greatest and Best Men that this Age has produc'd, in that which he calls *Latitudinarism*. This was the seconding Dr. Leighton in his Great Design for reforming and uniting the Church of Scotland : And it is that which I will never be ashamed of : I have rather cause to glory in it ; and to reckon my knowledge of that Apostolical Man, one of the greatest Blessings of my whole Life. The Ignorance of our Scribler shews it self too grossly here : He reproaches Bishop Leighton for being willing to take in the Ejected Presbyterian Ministers without Episcopal Ordination : Upon which he tells a long Tale, which is all one continued Impertinence. The Bishops of Scotland never required the Presbyterian Ministers there to take Episcopal Ordination ; they required them only to come and act with them in Church Judicatories ; even Arch-  
shop

shop *Sharp* himself, when he was to be consecrated Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, stood out for some time here in *England*, before he would submit to take *Priests Orders*. No Bishop in *Scotland* during my stay in that Kingdom, ever did so much as desire any of the *Presbyterians* to be re-ordain'd. So falsely is this Charge laid against the Memory of that Holy Man. All that long Tale that he hangs to it, is of a piece with its foundation.

He reproaches Bishop *Leighton* for *Ibid.* accepting the See of *Glasgow*, when Archbishop *Burnet* was turned out. But Dr. *Burnet* had resigned it, and had accepted of a Pension. Yet our Author ought not to have mentioned this, for the sake of a Friend of his own, who in the late Reign procured the Archbishop of that See to be turned out, only for his Zeal and Actings against Popery; and obtained it to himself.

Page 24.

He charges me for loving an *Asce-*  
*tical Life*, and *Mystical Divinity*; and  
 represents me as an *Enthusiast*. Ca-  
 lumny is run low with him, when he  
 flies to such stuff. A man had ra-  
 ther be any thing, than be delivered  
 over to a Spirit of Malice and Calum-  
 ny. The Enthusiastical Words he says  
 I vented to a *Lady*, are certainly a  
 Falshood; for I never once saw that  
*Lady*, but in Publick Rooms, and be-  
 fore much Company, when things of  
 that nature are seldom talk'd of; and  
 he has hit on Words that cannot be re-  
 conciled with the Opinion that I have  
 always held concerning *Predestination*.

Page 25.

He reproaches me for mistaking  
 the Subject of a Letter of *Q. Eliza-*  
*beth's*, and fancies it is a Letter to  
*Q. Katherine Parre*, when she was  
 with Child by the Lord Admiral, af-  
 ter the Death of *K. Henry the Eighth*.  
 I am not concerned whether his Con-  
 jecture or mine be the truer; nor do I  
 think

think it worth the while to argue it. It is but conjecture on both sides ; I stand upon my Sincerity in all that I affirm ; and when that is not shaken, I leave my Conjectures to take their fate.

The last Head of the Reproaches pag. 26. that he lays upon me, is from my Life of Bishop *Bedell*. Mr. *Fulman* sent me Remaks on some parts of it, and I made no Answer ; and these have fallen into the Author's hands, and he has printed them with great Triumph. I publish'd that Life just when I went out of *England*. Mr. *Fulman* sent a Packet after me to *Paris*, for which I paid very dear. I had neither the Conveniences nor the inclination to Answer it at that distance. Since I came into *England*, a Copy of it was sent to me, by him into whose hands Mr. *Fulman's* Papers came, for he was then dead. I sent him a full Answer to them, to be

Printed or not, as he thought fit. He judged it better to let the matter sleep, and so returned all back to me again, I will not weary out my Reader, who may justly nauseate at such stuff. I will only say this for my part in that work ; The whole Materials were prepared for me many years before I meddled with them, by an Ancient and Reverend Clergyman, *Mr. Cloggy*. I was apprehensive that some might take exceptions to my writing on that Argument; and so declined to do it for some Years ; but repeated Importunities overcame me at last ; so I undertook it : I had then separated myself from my Books, which I had bestowed in a place where I knew they would be preserved safe for me : I upon that took no sort of care to examine the matter of those Papers, I only put them in Form : I am not answerable for any mistakes that may be in the First part of them, which  
my

my Author may have misremember'd: So if any of these are wrong, they are another man's Errors, they are not mine. When I have said this, I have said enough to justify my self; but I could say a great deal more upon the particulars themselves, if I thought that were necessary.

Thus far I have followed this Author in one very black part of his Defamations; but his next is much blacker; both as it is laid on a far better Man, and on one who might be let lie in his Grave in quiet, though while he lived he was still Persecuted by the Malice and Slander of *Absurd* and *Wicked Men*. He might the rather be Treated with Humanity, if not with Respect; since he was the greatest Example I have ever known of a Gentleness that could not be surprized nor overcome; and was free from using any of those liberties in speaking of others, which were to so unmeasured

measured a degree made use of against himself. He is now above *Envy*, and beyond *Slander*; and his Name is and will be long Remembered with *Honour*, when it will not be so much as known that this *Man* was ever Born.

Pag. 35. He begins with Reproaching him for *Apostacy*; but all that matter has been already so fully cleared, that I cannot think there is any need of saying more upon that Argument; how much or how long soever this Writer may enlarge upon it.

Page 40. He thinks he was not only an *Apostate*, but an *Atheist*. In short, he goes round all the Topicks of his scurrilous Eloquence, to carry this matter as far as is possible: Tho the whole amounts to no more, but that he thought it a Sin to Resist only upon Jealousies and Consequences, upon some Illegal Acts, and remote Fears, but did not think it a Sin to Resist  
when



when a *Total Subversion* was openly declared, and was actually begun. If Evil-speaking and Reviling are Sins, our Author has, I am sure, a large measure of them on his Conscience. I had much rather bear his *Malice* than his *Burthen*.

He makes him to be a Venter of Pag. 42.  
Lies and false Stories. He may as well say he was a *Low, Lean, Black Man*, that he had a *sour Frowardness* in his Look, and an *Air of Malice* spread over his whole Countenance, and look'd like *Envy* it self; as we know some do. We who lived familiarly with that Great Man, know well how false all this Man's Accusation of him is, and how unlike it is to his True Character. He kept up his Credit with all Wise and Good Men, and always used it with great Discretion, and a constant Zeal in doing Good.

He runs out long upon some passages of Two of his Sermons; to which  
he

he adds a great deal of Tattle, and aggravates every thing far beyond it's true sense. I am, perhaps, not of the same Opinion with him in every thing in those Sermons; but they are far from being liable to those Uncharitable Charges that he lays on them. Divines may differ in their apprehensions of things, but Good Men can bear with one another, even when they believe they are mistaken. All this is Venome, and deserves no other Answer.

- P. 46. He may say any thing after he represents him as Stealing his *Rule of Faith* from Dr. Cradock, in some Discourses with him. It is certain nobody could Converse with Dr. Cradock on any Subject, but they might learn much from him; but I do not believe he ever intended to answer *Serjeant*, or any other Book whatsoever. I am sure it is not very like him. Our Primate had a Stock of his own,  
and

and needed to borrow from no body. I passed over what he had said of my stealing many Hints from Bishop *Gunning*, and then printing them. It is no great matter whether it be true or false, but as it happens, it is absolutely false. Bishop *Gunning* had much Learning and true Piety; but his Ideas were so confused, and so oversubtile, that I never could learn any thing from him in all the time that ever I conversed with him, and so I did not wait often on him.

He enters upon some Particulars P. 51.  
of the late Primate's Life, with which I am not so well acquainted, as to be able to give any account of them. "They do all relate to his having enjoyed first the  
" *Fellowship* of one turned out by the  
" Parliament, during the Rebellion;  
" then the Living of one turned out  
" by the *Bartbolomew Act*; and last of  
" all, his possessing the See of *Canterbury*:

*terbury* : And that, tho he had com-  
mended Dr. *Whitchcot* for his Gene-  
rosity to the Learned Dr. *Collins* ;  
yet he practised no part of that  
himself. Here a Question arises,  
What right a man has to any Tem-  
poral Estate, after the *Powers that are*,  
have taken it from another, and given  
it to him. I will not enter upon it. It  
is certainly wrong to endeavour to  
get a man turned out, that one may  
be possessed of his *Benefice*, which he  
knows was the Case of a Friend of his  
own. But when a man had no share  
in turning another out, and only pos-  
sesses a small Encouragement to  
Learning, that he had, I know of no  
Rule that obliges to Restitution in  
that Case. If the *Powers* are lawful,  
and they create a Vacancy upon a  
just Occasion, then since the Church  
must be served, how much soever a  
man may pity the Condition of such  
as are turned out, and how reasonable  
soever

soever it may be for him to relieve their Necessities ; yet their *Title* to what was Temporal, subsisting only upon *Law*, certainly that *Law* can alter the Property, and transfer it to another; so no *Title* remains : And tho in case of want, a Generosity, like that which Dr. *Whitchcot* practised, deserved to be highly commended ; yet since that was not the Case of Archbishop *Sancroft*, there was no reason for it. The one carried with him a good Estate out of *Lambeth*, and the other spent a considerable one in it, in a most Charitable and Generous manner. Archbishop *Sancroft* is at rest, and is, I am confident, in Heaven. I will not enter upon any part of his Life to lessen him in any respect, no, not so far as to pretend that I have any materials to go upon it, but that I chuse upon other Considerations to suppress them, which is one of the common Artifices of Malice.

I will

I will only remark a little upon that part of his Deportment which related to the Publick, to shew that there was something very singular, either in his Opinion, or in his Temper : Either his Opinion of the Present Establishment differed from his Brethrens, or he had a Fearfulness of Temper that neither became his Post, nor those Times. He was one of those Lords that met at *Guildhall*, and signed the Invitation to the (then) Prince of *Orange*, to come and look to the Preservation of Religion, and of the Nation. When his (present) Majesty came to *St. James's*, he neither came to wait on him, nor did he send any Message, importing that the State of Affairs was changed, and that he had thereupon changed his mind. When the Convention was summoned, he would not appear all the while, tho his Brethren did, and both spake and Voted according to their Principles.

The

The matter stuck so many days in the House of Lords, and was at last carried upon so small an inequality, that the weight of an Archbishop of *Canterbury* might have held, if not turned, the balance. No man did run any risk either at that time, or since, for the freedom with which he debated or voted. Here was a very unaccountable behaviour, if he thought it was *Rebellion*, or *Treason*, that was then in debate. If he had but once come and declared against all that was then in agitation, and then withdrawn; this would have become him and his Station. His Chaplains took the Oaths, and were not discountenanced by him: Those who knew him best, gave it out, upon that strange deportment of his, that he wished well to the Change, only that he himself would not be active in it; and this they imputed to some Promise that, they believed, he had made to the

Late King. I am sure I was at that time so possessed with this, that it was one of the chief Considerations that determined me to argue against the *Act* concerning the *Oaths* so long as I did.

When King *James* went to *Ireland*, and during all the time of that War, when the Party in *England* grew bold, and was full of hopes, he continued in his former silence, and reservedness; and still kept up his former friendship with those who had taken the *Oaths*. At that time several Clergymen who had Scruples concerning the *Oaths*, as they have told my self, went to him, and desired to discourse the matter with him, but he declined it. Of some of these I am sure he had no sort of distrust. When Bp. *Turner's* Letters were intercepted, he said to a great many from whom I had it, that he had no Authority from him to write as he did in his Name. After he



he was deprived, he never took on him to act with his Archiepiscopal Authority. He never stood upon his Right, nor complained of wrong, in any publick Act or Protestation. He never required the Bishops or Clergy of his Province to adhere to him, or to disown his Successor; and neither living nor dying, did he publish any thing to the Nation, charging these Sins upon them, or requiring them to return to their former state. And yet if all that we have been doing of late, is *Rebellion, Treason, Murder, or Perjury*, these can be no light matters. He who was at the Head of the Church, if he thought so of them, ought to have lift up his voice like a trumpet, to have cried aloud, and not have spared. It was visible to all who saw the state of our Affairs, that he would have been in no danger, if he had done it. But suppose he had been in danger, ought not such a man as he was, to have

even sacrificed his Life, rather than have abandoned such a Post, and have been silent at such a time? Since therefore such a way of proceeding is not reconcileable with an Apostolical or Primitive Spirit, and looks like not only a deserting, but a betraying the Obligations that he lay under: It is the most favourable judgment that can be made of him, to think, that he was more indifferent in this matter, than some would make us believe he was: That tho he would not Act, nor keep his Post under the present Government, yet that flowed from particular Considerations, which tho they might work on himself, yet he acted for the Cause it self with no Zeal nor Courage; which in respect to his Memory, we ought to think he would have done, if he had judged of the matter as these *Schismaticks* do: For let them talk of the *Church of England* as much as they will, we are sure they  
neither

neither adhere to the Principles of *Church-Communion*, professed in it, nor are they acted with that Spirit of *Moderation*, which has been all along Her Character and Glory, till of late some *Sons of Thunder* began to breathe out *Cruelty*.

To return from this Digression; if Archbishop *Sancroft* was not turned out, but for not doing those things which were Incumbent on his Function; and if he was far from being in Want, then it had been a Profuseness, and neither Charity nor Generosity in our late Primate, who exhausted all he had in the noblest manner, to have offered to supply one that needed it less than himself.

But since I am now engaged in this Subject, and intend never to Write more upon it in this way, I will give an account of another Transaction in this matter, in which a Person of great Honour will be my

Voucher, who is beyond all exception; and whom, though I do not name in this way, yet I will use more plainness to any that shall ask me the question.

In Summer 1690. after the Battel of the *Boyne*, the late *Queen* (a Name that will ever strike and melt all that knew *Her*) sent by me a Message to one, who She had reason to believe, would execute all her Commands with joy, and who had great Credit with the then Deprived Bishops; I am sure he had reason to have it, for he had served them with much Zeal: The Message was to try if the Bishops, in case the Parliament could have been brought to have Dispenced with their taking the Oaths, would go on and do their Functions, Ordain, Confirm, assist at Prayers and Sacraments, give Institutions, and Visit their Diocesses. These are the great Duties of the Episcopal Function;

Function; and it seemed an extravagant thing to have Bishops in a Church, who should do none of them, but should only live in their Sees and enjoy their Revenues. If they were resolved to do these things, a Scheme was prepared for offering that matter to a second Consideration in *Parliament*. That great Person undertook the Business, which I likewise communicated by the same Authority to an Eminent Person in the House of Commons, distinguished both by his Post, and by his Credit with them, at least with their Friends. About Two Months after, that Person did me the Honour to come to me, and tell me, he had obeyed the Queen's Commands with Zeal and with all the Skill he had; but he said the Deprived Bishops would Answer nothing, and Promise nothing, only he believed they would be Quiet. So all thoughts of bringing that matter

again into Parliament, were laid aside; yet Their Majesties proceeded in it slowly, and seemed unwilling to fill their *Sees*; till those Letters were discovered that shewed what Correspondencies and Engagements there were among them. That determined the matter; which, perhaps, without that accident, might have been hung up for another Year. Now let the world judge what a sort of an Episcopacy this would have been; Bishops would have *Eat* and *Drunk* well at the Church's Charge, and done nothing; neither have served the Government that Protected them, nor have Declared for that, to which they in their thoughts adhered; but would have lived Easy, pretending they were Quiet, and doing nothing against the State, till they had found a favourable Opportunity, like the Invasion designed from *la Hogue*, to have Declared themselves to some purpose.

When

When the Party had given credit to a most Impudent Calumny that was raised by the Papists against the late Primate, of his being a *Socinian*, his Book against those Errors had for some time made even the Party it self ashamed to support that any longer: At last an Ignorant and Malicious Writer was found out to maintain that Charge still, which had made too great a Noise to be easily parted with. Our Author it seems saw that this was too shameless a Calumny to be own'd by himself, who loves to digress so well, and practises it so much, that probably he would have made great excursions here, if it could have been defended; he only refers his Reader to the long Title of another, who has done it. But let the Reader try his Patience on that Book if he can. The Writer of it may depend on it, he will never be answered: Every one that looks into it, will

will soon see the reason. Some men have an Art of Writing, to disparage the Side that they write for. We do not envy them such Underworkmen. If their Labours can procure them a Maintenance from the Party, it is the better for them ; to be sure no body else will trouble them. Men must understand a Controversy before they write of it: Bold railing, without any sprinklings of Salt to give it a Relish, may perhaps be agreeable to a Taste like this Writer's, but generally it is so little regarded, that it is probable this Journey-man , after some Attempts to make himself be consider'd among them, will be desired by themselves to give over writing, and to reserve himself for fighting, in which he has been more practised.

Pag. 54.

“ He brings out a long Passage of  
 “ a Sermon of our late Primate's,  
 “ against *Perjury*, and makes an Ap-  
 “ plication



“plication suitable to the rest of his  
“Candor ; as if we had openly de-  
“clared for *Perjury* ; and then falls  
“into an *Invective* against him, for  
“having so little regard to those  
“who durst not venture on that sin.  
But what tenderness soever our Au-  
thor may express for those, ( if there  
are any such among us ) who have  
taken the *Oaths* to this Government,  
while they think themselves tied to  
the former, we have no regard at all  
to them, we look on them as the worst  
of men. We hold this to be *Perjury*  
indeed, and a sin of that heinous-  
ness, that no Characters are black  
enough to set it out. But if the Obli-  
gation of the former *Oath* ceases, then  
all the Charge of *Perjury* falls. This  
brings us back again to the Main  
Question, of which I have said so  
much already, that I will repeat no  
part of it.

As for our late Primate's Severity  
against

against the *Non-Jurors*, if they had behaved themselves modestly and quietly with their Scruples, every man among us would have had all just regard to them; we would not only have pitied, but have protected and assisted them. The Virulence of their Libels, and of their whole Behaviour, is such a Strain, that this Age, how fruitful soever in bad things, has not yet produc'd any thing like it. When they attack the Government, and defame it and all that are concerned in it, with so foul and so keen a Malice, we must sometimes shew our Zeal for the Publick, against their Unchristian Temper. After all, most of his small Stories with which Tattlers have furnished him, (if they are not his own Fictions) have so little of the way of the late *Primate*, that they will be believed by few, except those of his own Temper.

“ He

“ He thinks he has great advantage Pag. 57.  
 “ from my owning, that the Re-  
 “ proaches of the Party might have  
 “ had an ill effect on our *late Primate's*  
 “ Health ; and fancies that is a low  
 “ and abject Character. It may be  
 so with those that affect to pass for  
*Stoicks* or *Heroes*. But *Lot* vexed his  
*righteous* soul with what he saw and  
 heard. *David* owns that reproach had  
 broken his heart ; and *Jeremy* is full of  
 those afflicting strains. *St. Paul* was  
 burnt up with the Concerns of the  
 Church, and with the *Scandals* that  
 were then given or unjustly taken.  
 And even our Blessed Saviour *looked*  
*about with anger, and was grieved with*  
*the hardness of their hearts* , with the  
 spiteful and hypocritical temper of  
 the *Pharisees*. A truly good man will  
 be little concerned upon his own ac-  
 count, at all that can be said of him,  
 or against him ; but when a *Veno-*  
*mous Temper* spreads it self fatally,  
 and

and defeats the good that is designed to be done ; when mens minds are sower'd by it ; when Ill-nature, which too generally prevails in the world, is so much fed by it ; and when even Atheism it self is fortified, by persuading the world that those to whom so much Respect has been paid for their Labours in Religion, and against Atheism, are called Atheists themselves, and are allowed no other distinction from other *Atheists*, but that

Pag. 40. they are of the *graver sort* ; it is no wonder if a man who is forced to reflect often on these things, feels a deep concern at heart about them. To all serious men this will raise a *Character*, rather than depress it.

Pag. 58. I will not answer the Venom that is here, nor do I wish him the Answer that such Periods deserve. A Pillory were a gentle Censure for it.

Pag. 59. "He cannot bear it that our *late*  
 " *Primate* should be thought to have  
 " turned

" turned so great a part of the City  
 " to love the Church: He thinks he did  
 " it not; that he only persuaded men  
 " to bear with the Church, but not to  
 " love it, or become zealous for it;  
 " as the Converts of others have  
 " shewed themselves to be. As for  
 this, I appeal to all who knew what  
 the City was in 1662, and what it  
 was brought to in 1682, when those  
 Virulent Men began to let loose their  
 Malice against this *Great Man*. There  
 are too many Witnesses to this, there-  
 fore he cannot quite deny it. But  
 these men, says he, did not become  
*Zealots*; that is, they did not rail at,  
 nor inform against their old Friends;  
 this is, in our Author's sense, to be  
 hearty to the Church: but as for those  
 who do still sincerely adhere to the  
 Communion of our Church, and love  
 it, all who know the City will be for-  
 ced to own, that whosoever gained  
 their *Thousands*, our late *Primate* gain-  
 ed

ed his *Ten thousands*. After all, our Author's Friends in *France* might have taught him, that it is no small Merit to bring Numbers over, tho it were done by such *Expositions* and Mollifyings as the Bishop of *Meaux* has tried his Skill at. Our Author himself is willing to mollify matters towards such as have taken the *Oaths* against their *Consciences*; but to persuade a man to the Communion of the Church by such Softnings, is a Crime with him.

Pag. 60. I pass over a great deal of his Stuff, as things that can make no Impression, and deserve no Answer. If any man had argued only from Providence, he might have run out upon it as long as he had pleased: But when a Foundation is once laid, and a Cause is proved to be just in it self, then the Steps of Providence that watch over it will be observed by all men that are not Atheistical and Irreligious.

religious. I will not follow him again into his *Tattle*: I believe not a word of it, or of any thing else; for his saying it, even when he adds, *to his certain knowledge*. But I do not know Particulars so well as to be able to confute them; nor were it worth the while to enquire after them.

“ He thinks the Foreign Churches  
 “ were more ruined by their not being able to answer their want of  
 “ *Mission*, than by all the late *Persecution*. But after all, I believe our Author trusts to the method of *Persecution* more than to that of *Argument*. If the *Dragoons* had made no greater execution than this *Argument* did, the *French Churches* had been entire to this day: For how valuable a thing soever a *Regular Mission* and a *Continued Succession* may be, yet the greater part of mankind will always think, that *Truth* has a sufficient Authority to oblige men both to receive and

publish it, how doubtful soever the Mission of him that brings it may seem to be.

P. 66.

“He had pickt up a new Story concerning me, after he had finish’d the Chapter that is designed for me; and with this he entertains his clamorous Malice for Two Pages. Duke Hamilton told a Person of Honour, That I advised him, as he regarded his own standing and the King’s Favour, to be sure to promote the Presbyterian Interest: And upon this he runs out of breath with his Exclamations. It is a practice too gross, and too much decried, to lay a Story so, that it must end in a dead man. Slanders should be contrived more dextrously; especially when the Tale that is told is not in it self very credible. This is one of those ill-design’d and ill-executed Lies, that can do no hurt but to those that forge them. If it were worth answering, I could give



give very copious Proofs to the contrary. Such Impudent Stories are too much honour'd when they are confuted.

After this angry man had spent 68 Pages in Two Chapters of Defamation, for which, let him think of it as he will, he must one day answer to God, he comes in Conclusion to the Funeral Sermon it self; where he finds so little Matter of Remark, that the Biass of a Sowre Temper makes him again return to the beaten subject of his Thoughts, *Falshood and Calumny.* "He quarrels with my say- p. 68.

"ing, that the Apostle had large thoughts  
"concerning the Idol Feasts, and meats  
"offered to Idols. I will not run out in-  
to Controversy here; but I am sure  
these Words of St. Paul, repeated on  
different occasions, *All things are law- 1 Cor.*  
*ful for me, but all things are not expedient, 10. 23.*  
*and edify not. I will not be brought under Chap. 6.*  
*the power of any. I am made all things to 12.*  
*all* Chap. 9.  
22.

all men, that I might by all means save some.  
 And the mention St. Paul makes of  
 Chap. 8. the ill use of knowledge in him who sat  
 10, 11. at meat in an idols temple, by which the  
 conscience of him that was weak was embolden'd, so that through the knowledge of the one, the other perished. These words, I say, do so fully justify what I said, that it seems he himself was apprehensive of it; for whereas on other occasions he fills Pages with Quotations, here he only refers by a Marginal Note to those Passages of St. Paul's Epistle. It seems he knew, that if he had set down the Words themselves, they would have too evidently proved all that I had said: But some matter of Divinity was to be touched on, and wheresoever the Harpies touch, they defile every thing.

His next Exception is against my  
 Pag. 70. using these words, *The just Freedoms of Human Nature*: And here comes a new Declamation of Three Pages.  
 There

There is a sort of men, that because they hope to be the Instruments of *Tyranny* and *Cruelty*, cannot with any patience bear the mention of *Freedom* or *Liberty*. They are too much *Slaves* themselves to be capable of *Generous Thoughts*. Our Author seems to fall into Fits when they are but named. Let others love *Unjust Slavery* as much as they will, *Just Freedoms* will still be loved by all those that have not degenerated from *Human Nature*, and with that have lost their relish of its *Just Freedoms*. I shall not wish so ill a thing to them, as that they may feel the effects of this Principle in its full extent. I am sure I cannot wish them a worse thing with relation to this world. But I have not ill nature enough to furnish out such a Wish, which requires a Spite as black as our Author's.

“Upon my mentioning the Con- Pag. 73.  
 “cern that our late Primate had at

“the Progress of *Atbeism* and Im-  
 “piety, he goes over his former stuff,  
 “to lay the Blame of it in a great  
 “measure at his door and mine, as if  
 “our asserting the present Constitu-  
 “tion, did fortify men in their *Atbe-*  
 “*ism*. But all this has been already  
 considered; therefore how much so-  
 ever our Author delights in such Re-  
 petitions, that he may give vent to  
 his Gall in new Flourishes of Viru-  
 lent Language, I will refer my Rea-  
 der to what was formerly said, and  
 leave him to the pleasure of throw-  
 ing out his Ill nature as oft as he has  
 a mind to it.

Pag. 75.

“He comes at last to the Provoca-  
 “tion that I gave them in my Ser-  
 “mon, after he had exhausted his  
 “whole Common-Place of Defama-  
 “tion. He begins his Charge with  
 “the baseness of insulting over men in as-  
 “sultion. If mens Tempers were in  
 any sort suited to their Circumstan-  
 ces,

ees, then it were barbarous indeed to lay a load upon those that are sunk with misfortunes. But when men are *Pert* and *Insolent*, when they are filling the Nation with *Lies* and *Slanders*; when they are at work in every *Coffee-house*, defaming the Government, and all that adhere to it; when they do so visibly take part with the Enemy of our Nation, and of our Religion, and seem to hate both; when they shew so keen an edge in all their Discourses and Libels; when their Malice is as Restless, as (God be thanked for it) it is Feeble and Harmless; and particularly when *Justice* was to be done to the *Memory* of *One* whom they had pursued so Implacably for so many years, it was fit and in some sort necessary, to say somewhat to humble them. Let them put on modest and humble Tempers; let the Party be quiet and si-

lent; and let them disown such Writers as this Person shews himself to be, and then let us bear what blame indifferent Men can lay on us, if we are not tender of them, and kind to them. Great regard is due to every Person that is in bad Circumstances; but much greater is due to those who are willing to suffer, rather than to act against their Consciences; such sufferings have so beautiful an appearance, that even some peevishness, and a great many mistakes are to be forgiven, where so good a Temper appears; and when Men are willing to Sacrifice the concerns of this present Life, rather than endanger their eternal Interests. If such Men were to be *persecuted* (or according to a finer term, used to disguise so black a thing, if they were to be *prosecuted*) for all this, I should think it both Inhumane and Unchristian to inflame the Nation against them,

them, by saying, "It is not Conscience, it is Humour, Pride, or ill Nature that governs them; must the State be ruin'd, and the Church rent, to gratify such an unreasonable and contemptible Party? Our Author knows where we could find a great many Topicks to stuff out black Declamations on this Argument. May all the shame that belongs to other People, fall on us, if ever we are corrupted with such a Temper, or become guilty of such excesses. We can bear with their Errors, and love their Persons, and not only pity, but respect and assist them in all their concerns. But if the Party will not govern their Passions, nor bridle their Tongues; if they will not give over practises to undermine the State, and distract the Church, how gentle soever the Government may be to them, and how tender soever we may be of them, the patience of the former

former may at last be exhausted, and our Zeal may be justly inflamed against Men, who have been hitherto the greatest instances of Insolence against Government, that perhaps this Age has produced.

Pag. 76. "For four Pages together he runs  
 "out to shew how many Men had  
 "been once engaged in Rebellious  
 "Courses, and had afterwards started  
 "back: He might have gone much  
 farther, if he had pleased, and as little to the purpose. He must first prove, that we are in a state of Rebellion, which we are sure he will never be able to do; and till he does that, all his scraps of History are impertinent.

Pag. 79. "He comes at last to excuse the silence of the Deprived Bishops in  
 "so critical a time. He says, The Mob  
 "would have fallen upon them, and  
 "have torn them in pieces if they had  
 "spoke their Minds, This every one  
 knows



knows to be false in fact. Upon the late King's deserting the Government, the *Mob* was indeed the Master for some days; but immediately after the (then) *Prince* came to *London*, all that was quieted; and there was not the least Disturbance during the rest of the Winter. In all those Weeks in which the Debate lasted in the Convention, there was not so much as Colour given, to pretend that Violence was offered, or that any Threatnings were used. Some wished that they might have had that pretence, to say they were overawed in their Proceedings, and so hoped to have had the Plea of a *Nullity*, which arises from a Consent extorted by such a Fear, as may overcome even a Man of Courage. But there was not a shadow given to such Pretences; therefore an Obligation lay upon these Bishops to have declared themselves more openly than they

they did, for they were under no danger. But suppose they were, ought not Men in their *Station* to have hazarded even their Lives to have given the Nation warning, that they were running into the Sins of *Murder, Rebellion, Perjury*, with all the crying Epithets with which our Author charges our present Constitution? They were not to chuse their own time to do this; the time of Sin and Temptation is the time in which the Clergy ought to give warning. Indeed if they had given this warning, I shall not deny, but that in imitation of the Precedent of *Athanasius*, and other great Saints, they might have taken care of themselves, and of their own Preservation. But the Obligation that lay on them, to give publick warning, was strict and indispensable; and therefore, I think, we shew both more Respect and more Charity to them, when we believe

lieve that at that time they had not these apprehensions of this Matter that they have now; that they were then willing to be *passive*, without struggling hard or venturing much, than they do who represent them as so careful of themselves, and so fearful of Danger, that they would not speak out or deal roundly, in a time in which they ought either to have spoken, or for ever thereafter to have held their Peace.

“ He fills a Page with a Quotati- Pag. 82.  
“ on from *Athanasius*, to justify his fly-  
“ ing and hiding himself. But that is not the Question at present, it is their Silence that we are now upon. *Athanasius* was far from being *silent*, he gave many loud warnings, and when he had done that, he reserved himself to better times. It is trifling, when we object against their *silence*, which is notoriously known, to tell us that it was lawful for them to fly, which they did

did not, nor did we charge them with it.

Pag. 82.

He says next, " That if through  
 " Fear they had been wanting to their  
 " Duty, it was a pardonable piece of  
 " Frailty: St. Peter deni'd his Master;  
 " and many Confessors and Martyrs  
 " were at some times overcome with  
 " it. A surprize, and a deliberate course  
 of acting, that lasted many Months,  
 are things very different. Their silence  
 has continu'd ever since. Their Arch-  
 bishop lived and died in this silence,  
 having never by any publick and ex-  
 press Act declared himself, nor given  
 warning to the Nation. He neither  
 required the Bishops of his Province,  
 nor the Clergy of his Diocess to ad-  
 here to himself, or to the late King,  
 to refuse the Oaths, and to reject his  
 Successor. He did not require it of  
 those of his own Family. He did nei-  
 ther fly nor abscond, but was all the  
 while at home both *safe* and *silent*;  
 all

all the rest have followed his Example, and continue to this day silent: That is, whatsoever any of them may talk in corners, or may write or print without name, they have not by any Publick Instrument, or Episcopal Act declar'd themselves.

He says, "That to have thundred Pag. 83.  
 " against Foreigners, would have  
 " been to no purpose, because they  
 " were of other Communions; and  
 " to have thundred against our own  
 " People would have been to ex-  
 " communicate the Multitude, which  
 " is against the Rules and Directions of  
 " the Canon-Law. If we had a mind  
 to have that Body of Men appear  
 ridiculous, we need only wish them  
 to employ such a Writer to make  
 Apologies for them. The Rules of the  
 Canon-Law are a noble defence, when  
 Men have been wanting to the Rules  
 of the Gospel. Bishops would not  
 openly declare themselves when the  
 thing

thing was entire, and the Nation was not yet involved in all that Guilt which they now charge on us; because, forsooth, the *Canon Law* forbids the excommunicating the Multitude. He is sparing of his Quotations here, tho he is liberal of them when they are not to the purpose. But the citing of the *Canon Law* at large was great, and not easily to be confuted.

P. 80.

In the middle of all this Apology, he brings in a hearsay-Story of a Dialogue that passed between Mr. Napleton and my self: For tho he had in another part of this Book represented

P. 25.

me as *shedding Tears* when I heard how the late King was treated at *Faversham*, he now reports a Discourse between Mr. Napleton and me, the Importance of which is, That I wished they would have left the late King to be *torn in pieces by the Mob*. This Story has been in one or two of their Books that have appeared of late.

late. It has been kept up as a Secret Five or Six Years, and now it is made an Ornament in several of their Libels. I never saw that Gentleman before nor since that time; so I do not know whether he owns or disowns it: Nor can I pretend to give an account of a Discourse almost Seven Years old. Another Worthy Gentleman, Mr. Chadwick, was Witness to all that passed between us. I am sure I was deeply concerned at the Misfortunes of that Prince. I immediately went about the procuring an Order to be speedily given, to take care of his Preservation. All that I can remember of any Discourse with that Gentleman, is, That when he told me that upon the Gentlemen of the Countrey's coming to *Feverham* they had brought the People to shew more

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Respect; and that the late King was very desirous to prosecute his Voyage beyond Sea, and I thought they ought to have helped him in it. I do not deny; but that I thought that since He by *Deserting* had abandoned the Government, it was a great Misfortune that any Stop was put to that; and I wished he had been left to his own freedom; and I thought that the Gentlemen of the Countrey might have so managed the Multitude, as to have set him at liberty. This is all that I meant in that matter; but I cannot charge my self with further Particulars of that Discourse.

Page 83.

“He quarrels with my saying  
 “that the Deprived Bishops left  
 “their Authority entirely with their  
 “Chancellors; who acted in their Name,  
 “and by their Commission: And he  
 “asks



“ asks, Whether they granted them  
 “ New Commissions for tendering  
 “ the Oaths, or if their Chancel-  
 “ lers did it by virtue of their  
 “ former Patents. I have said some-  
 what on this Head already, which  
 needs not be repeated here. But  
 there is no need of enquiring how  
 their Chancellors came by that Au-  
 thority, which in respect to some  
 of them I forbear to do. It is  
 certain that they were all silent  
 at the least, and left that matter  
 with their Chancellors; whereas they  
 ought to have declared openly a-  
 gainst it. For since their Chancel-  
 lers by their Patents were their *Vi-*  
*cars-General*; they ought to have  
 let their Clergy know, that in this  
 particular their Chancellors acted not  
 only without directions from them,  
 but against their minds. They  
 were the Pastors of their Diocesses,

and ought to have *fed their Flock*, and particularly to have kept the door shut against those who entred in by Taking Oaths which they judged unlawful. And as *Silence* in the whole extent of their *Pastoral Care* can not be reconciled with the Obligations that they lay under, so least of all can it be excused when their *Chancellors* were in their Name acting quite contrary to their Judgments, and yet were neither disowned nor declared against by them, and that for a whole Year together.

Page 84.

“He charges me with *juggling*  
 “at an odd rate, for saying, That  
 “though they thought the Oaths  
 “unlawful, yet they would scarce  
 “say so much in confidence to any  
 “of the Clergy who asked their  
 “Opinions about it. Then, says  
 “he,

“ he, *they did say it* ; because I say  
 “ *they would scarcely say it*. But this  
 was only a soft way of expressing  
 a harsh thing. They were bound  
 in Conscience to speak freely to  
 their Clergy , and to call upon  
 them to consider their Duty ,  
 though they had not come to ask  
 them ; but when they came to  
 them they were bound to speak  
 out, and that freely. But he still  
 excuses them, “ From the fear they  
 “ had , that those who came to  
 “ them, came to entrap them , as  
 “ *the Pharisees did our Saviour* : An  
 Impious Expression, and not cor-  
 rected in the *Errata*, though there  
 is a Correction on what is two  
 Lines before this. The *Pharisees*  
 intended to *entrap our Saviour* , but  
 did not *entrap him*, according to  
 the Blasphemy of this Period. It  
 did never appear that any of the  
 1 3 Clergy

Clergy delated any of them : If they had done it, I do not know how far our Law could have made such Discourses Penal ; I am sure our Government would not have either enquired after it, or punished them for such things. In those days in which these men were so much exalted, a Book writ by a Man of Quality, and never shewed, but found in his Cabinet many Years after, was an Evidence then to convict him of *High Treason*. But how much soever they may magnify those days as a Golden Age, we live in happier times. So that these their Fears were the effects of the weakness of their own minds, or else they had at that time other thoughts of this matter than they have at present.

“ He

“ He quarrels with my saying,   
 “ That they abandoned the Government   
 “ of the Church: And says, They did   
 “ it as the (late) King abandoned, and   
 “ as Man abandons his House, who is   
 “ driven out of it by the force of Arms.   
 “ And so he concludes me to be a   
 “ bandoned by Modesty and the love of   
 “ Truth. I think it is fully made   
 out that the late King did abandon   
 his People; but they did it much   
 worse; for from August 1689. till   
 May 1691. for near two years to-   
 gether, they lived in their Sees,   
 without taking any Care of the   
 Church, or doing any of their Fun-   
 ctions. They thought that they were   
 all that while lawful Bishops, and   
 for a good part of the time they   
 were certainly so, and yet they did   
 nothing as Bishops all that while;   
 they neither fed their Clergy nor   
 their People with Instructions, Ad-

monitions, Reproofs, or Censures; and if in so critical a Time, a Body of Men who are entrusted with the *Care of feeding the Flock of Christ*, will leave them to themselves, to the Wolves that devour them, or to the Poyson that must destroy them, it is hard to tell what is *abandoning*, and what is not. As for his Complement to my self, I am so accustomed to such Civilities from him, that I am pretty well hardned against them.

Ibid.

“ He quarrels me for saying ,  
 “ *That neither our Laws nor our Princes*  
 “ *could bear it long.* He shews ,  
 “ *That since nothing lapses from*  
 “ *the King, no Inconvenience could*  
 “ *have happened, if the filling the*  
 “ *Sees had been longer delayed ;*  
 “ *by which this Schism, this horrible*  
 “ *and unnatural Schism had been pre-*  
 “ *vented.* If to have a shadow and  
 name

name of a Government, and no real Government, if to deliver up Sees to the Conduct of *Lay-Chancellors*, without the Bishops taking any care of them, be no Inconveniences; if to have the Bishop's Bench so empty in Parliament, and to have many known Enemies in publick Posts; if to have given the Enemies of the Church advantage, by seeing that Diocesses could be managed without Bishops, are such harmless things in our Author's Opinion; others are not of his mind; but see how certainly these things must have ended in the ruin of the Church, if not of the State. It is certain no body apprehended his wise Inconvenience of the *lapsing from the Crown*. I do not deny, but this is a horrible and unnatural Schism, managed in a most horrid and unnatural

*natural way; but both the Schism, and the Management lye at their Door, and they must answer for it. God be thanked that, how horrible and unnatural soever it may be, it is very inconsiderable; and their way of management has made it both odious and contemptible.*

Page 86. I had said, That they were Deprived by the same Authority that displaced the Nonconformists in 62. and deprived the Popish Bishops in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign. To this he answers, "First, That the  
 " Authority is not the same, because  
 " we are not under a *Hereditary*  
 " King; and so he strikes at the  
 " Authority of all that is now  
 " done. But he knows that the  
 Controversy has been hitherto  
 managed upon this Point, whether a Deprivation by a *Lay-Authority*



rity be valid or not? It is upon this that both Mr. *Dodwell* and Dr. *Hoddy*, have Writ so much. Since therefore this was the Question, I was in the right to say, The Authority was the same, for it was a Lay-Authority in both Cases. As for his Excursion upon the Authority of *Hereditary Kings*, and of others who were not so. This is a Point of Law, in which all our Lawyers (without one single Exception, as far as I have ever heard) agreeing, I think their Authority may well balance one ill-natured Writer where he is single, and is no Lawyer, and but a very mean Divine. The Statute of *Henry* the 7<sup>th</sup> is very express and full here, and is a Law of Two hundred Years standing, never once struck at; but our Lawyers do universally say, That tho that *Act* had never

ver past, the thing was clear before. Here is a good Foundation laid down by our Author to question all *Queen Elizabeth's* Laws; for not to stand on the *Plea* of the Papists, against the *Lawfulness* of her Father's Marriage to her Mother, that Marriage was afterwards declared null from the beginning, and so she was illegitimated: This was never taken out of the way by any subsequent Judgment. Our Author, perhaps, intends to do this service to that Church and Interest, and so will try to shake the Authority of those Laws; but they will still retain their Credit and Force, after all his poor Endeavours to the contrary. The confusion that would arise from the voiding of Laws, that flowed from a settled Government, might delight Men of Spite and Malice; but our Nation, in no Age, has

has had the ill Nature that was necessary to maintain so wicked and destructive a Maxim. But all this is a returning to, or rather a supposing that which is the Subject of our main Debate: We affirm, and believe that we have proved it, that we are not only under a *Legal*, but under a *Just* and a *Lawful Power*, built upon, and suited to the Fundamentals of our Constitution.

His second Answer is, That whatever a *Lay-Authority* may do, yet  
 " since it may sometimes act unjustly, and  
 " make wicked Laws, I ought to have  
 " justified the grounds upon which the  
 " Bishops were deprived: and he protests  
 " that the Apologies and Defences written  
 " for them are such, that if he were  
 " their most implacable Enemy (as he  
 " fears I am) he could not tell how  
 " to answer them. But suppose  
 they were turned out unjustly, that  
 will

will indeed make them very guilty who have enacted such an unrighteous Law, yet the constant Practice of the Church is evidently made out to have been this, That since the Church cannot be kept in order without Governors, when *Princes* turn out *Bishops*, tho upon groundless and untrue Suggestions, but without any design to corrupt or alter the *Faith*, in such a case the Church is rather to bear a particular Injustice than to break with the *Prince*, to forfeit his Protection, or to venture on his Displeasure; even in protecting an innocent and injured *Bishop*. Sacred *Orders* are indeed derived according to the Rules of the Gospel: But the allotment of this or that *Bishop*, to this or that *See*, are things of a mixed Nature, in which the Civil as well as the Ecclesiastical

cal Authority have their share, Both are under the Rules of Discretion and Prudence: and the Protection of the Magistrate, is of that consequence to the whole, and to the advancement of Religion it self, as well as to the quiet and safety of all the Members of that Body, that it is certainly better to bear, even with a particular Injustice, than by opposing it to venture on a general Concussion of the whole frame.

What was formerly mentioned, with relation to the deprived Bishops, will serve not only to justify the Proceedings against them, but to shew the Necessity of them. The method of all Governments, for several Ages, has been to demand the security of an *Oath*, from Subjects in general; more particularly from those in publick Employments, who being in a high Trust, and ha-

ving

ving great Influence, it has been thought necessary to engage them to the Government in the Sacredst manner possible. Nor do I know of any Constitution in which the Oaths to the Publick are conceived in such general words, as ours are; which was agreed, to that so all just Occasions of Scruples might be removed. But as the Bishops, who refused these Oaths, obliged the Government to see to its own Preservation; so they by their wilful abstaining from all their Functions, doing no part of their Duty, made it become *Sacrilege* in them to hold their Sees, and enjoy their Revenues: who did lay aside all the concerns of their Diocesses, and would discharge no part of their Ministry. We hold our Temporalities, as Encouragements and Endowments for the performance of those

those Functions and Offices that belong to our *Spiritualties*; and it is plainly *Sacrilege* to hold the one, when the other is wholly neglected. Thus a full Apology is given for those Proceedings: Our Author's *Opinion* and *Protestations* to the contrary, will not, I think, weigh much; he is too much concerned to judge Equitably, and too much soured to judge Calmly. He thinks that *I am their most implacable Enemy*; I thank God I am neither an *Enemy* nor *Implacable* towards any person. One that feels how powerful such a Temper is in himself, may be too apt to judge others by what he knows of himself. When I was Commission'd to act in the Diocesses of *Bath* and *Wells*, and of *Gloucester*, I was wanting in no Expressions of Respect to the two Reverend Persons that held those Sees. I can esteem Men for what is truly

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valuable

valuable in them, even when I differ in Opinion with them. But personal Reflections signify little; so I leave them all to him to *whose eyes all things are naked and opened.*

Upon this whole Matter there are two particulars, in which we can boldly appeal to the Practice of the Catholick Church in all Ages. The first is, We challenge them to shew us any one instance, where after a Revolution in the State happened, that was generally received and settled, the Bishops and Pastors of the Church refused to acknowledge the present Civil Government, and to act in their Stations under it; and more particularly, where any Revolution happened, which rescued and settled the true Religion, that was not received with a general Joy and Gratitude, even though the Methods of it, and Steps to it, were liable to great  
and



and just Exceptions. We are sure they cannot shew us any instance that looks like a *Precedent* to their Proceedings; but that the whole course of *History* is one continued *Precedent* in our favour.

The second is, We challenge them to shew us where ever a *Schism* was formed upon the *Lay-Deprivation* of a *Bishop*, even when the grounds that it proceeded on were visibly unjust, if the Faith of the Church was not pretended to be concerned in the matter; more particularly, we challenge them to shew us an instance where the Bishops or Clergy of a Church adhered to a *Metropolitan* or a *Bishop*, so turned out, or made a *Schism* upon his account, when he did not by any publick Act or Instrument assert his own Right, and challenge the Obedience of those who were Subordinate to him.

These are points of Fact, in which it were easy for them to bring *Precedents*, if they had any; and these are capable of being exactly considered.

We have often produced our *Precedents*, That of the *Maccabees*, of *Constantine the Great*, and *Licinius*; that of *Maximus* are noted ones. The intruders into the *High priesthood* under the *Jewish Dispensation*, and the many instances in Church History, that *Dr. Hody* has cleared beyond a possibility of denying the Matter of Fact, are so express and full on our side, that their avoiding to answer them, is plainly a giving up the Cause. Their leaving the general Argument from the constant and uninterrupted Practice of the Church, and betaking themselves to the Methods of *Slander* and *Defamation*, is such an evident indication of  
a bad

a bad Cause and of a worse Management, that it is not possible but that the generality of indifferent Men will soon discern how weak their Reasons, and how strong their Passions are. They have in all their other Writings built too much on the Authority and Practice of the Church, to be able with any *Shame* to reject this Argument, and to say that they ought to be governed by *Rules*, and not by *Examples*. The World has been always a Scene of Confusion: Many Revolutions have happened since the Christian Religion prevailed; some of these were in the best Ages; they were often brought about by treacherous and cruel Methods, and were both introduced and maintained by Violence. Bishops were often put from their Sees, sometimes without the Forms of Ecclesiastical Proceedings; and

the Passion and Injustice with which they were pushed, is often too visible to be capable of an Apology: Therefore we think that when the general Arguments, which we bring for maintaining the Peace and Order of the World in all such Cases, besides the more special ones, by which we justify the present Constitution, and our late Proceedings, receive a confirmation from the constant and uniform Practice of the Church in all Ages in such Cases, though much worse as to their particular Circumstances, and in all Respects such as cannot be justified, yea and scarce excused, we think: I say, that this will fully satisfy all Men of clear and unbiassed Minds.

With this I leave the Matter, and our Author both. I have in this whole Debate stood meerly upon the *defensive* against him; and have  
detected

detected the Injustice and Falshood of his Calumnies, without endeavouring to retaliate or to examine either his *Books* or his *Life*. The Pattern that he has set, and pursued in so many of his Writings, has so little of common Humanity and Decency, not to say of true Christianity in it, that I am no way disposed to write after so vicious a Copy. To read so many Books, to pick up so many Stories, and to vent them in so foul a Style, and with such Enlargements and Commentaries, does no great Service to his Party, nor Honour to his Profession. They shew that he is under the unhappiness of too much leisure ill imployed, and under the far greater unhappiness of a restless Spite, and an eager Malice.

I have only said what I thought necessary to defend our Selves and our Cause, without any other Reflections but what arises out of that. I thought it an Imployment unbecoming a Christian, or a Man in Holy Orders, to read over all their Books, to hearken after all Tattles, and to gather Materials for defaming Him or his Friends. God preserve me from such a Temper. The false Mother could see the Child murdered, rather than the true Mother should have it. He labours even to fortify Atheism by exposing us so as to defeat our Labours, and to strengthen the common Enemy, disgracing our Persons and Performances, and representing us to be of their Side. We leave that to God, who knows the Sincerity of our Hearts, and the cleanness of our Hands in his sight; and will render to every

*every Man according to his deeds. The Contentious, the Blasphemous, and those that love and make Lies, have a Portion abiding them, from which I pray God preserve this poor Man; though he is labouring hard to make it sure to himself. And therefore having said enough to shew the Falshood of his Book, I will pursue this Matter no further.*

I have been for many Years silent; and have thought none of their Calumnies worth the giving the World the trouble of an Answer. Apologies for ones self are things in which no modest Man can take Pleasure; they look like an anxiety concerning Fame, or the Esteem of the World. *Our Saviour answered not a word when he was vehemently accused, and bitterly reviled; yet he spoke at last, when the justifying his Innocence required it.*

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One would chuse always to be silent, and to commit his cause to God, and bear Slanders on every side; it being a much nobler Triumph to live one's own Apology, than to write it; yet sometimes it seems necessary to say somewhat. If the Memory of that *Great Man*, and now *Blessed Saint*, who honoured me with so long and so particular a Friendship, had not been very dear to me, and if a passage in the History of the Reformation had not seemed to require an account of it, I could have born this with the same Patience that I had expressed upon other Provocations. But since I found it was generally expected that I should defend the Memory of my Friend, as well as my self; I have kept within those bounds, and have avoided to say any thing that might look like Retaliation.

I have



I have left many trifling Things without any Answer; not for want of good Matter, but from that just tediousness that it gives to a Man's self, as well as to his Readers, to enter into a long Discussion of many trifling Stories relating to himself. I have not considered many Reflections he makes on some of my Reverend Brethren, nor those he levels at our Most Reverend Primate; they shew a keenness of Spite that can hurt no Man but himself, and therefore I pass them all over.

Much less will I take any notice of that Impudence of his Malice that dares attack so great a Name, who shines now so gloriously in the universal Admiration of the Age, and whose loss has put the World under the deepest Mourning. Yet even that Blessed Saint is not let lie quiet in Her Grave: But Her Fame

as

as well as *Her Person* are above Malice : And therefore I leave him to that load of Infamy, which his base Aspersions on *Her Memory* must throw upon himself. I can bear all that he, or his Party, can say of myself patiently, and for most part silently ; I can bear what is said of our late *Primate* decently, and answer it calmly : But I owe those *Sacred Ashes* so profound a Respect, that I think a transport of Indignation does not misbecome me when so Sacrilegious a Hand offers to Violate or Stain them. I shall add no more on this Head, but that it is an Honour to be defamed by the same profane and polluted Breath, that durst attempt on the Memory of our late BLESSED, BLESSED QUEEN.

It is now more than time to conclude. I wish with all my Heart  
that

that the Discoveries I have now made of the Falshoods and Calumnies of this Book, may open the Eyes of those, whom some wicked Men have too much blinded; that so they may be no more possessed with their Stories, nor apt to receive such new ones as they may be still inventing and spreading. They shew they have little quiet within; and then, no wonder, if like the troubled Waters they are still throwing up Mire and Dirt. I hope enough is now said to convince the Nation of their Injustice and Ill-nature, and how little any thing that comes from them is to be believed; and that it appears how boldly they vent downright Lyes; and with what false Colours they set out those few Truths, upon which they think they may Triumph without ceasing. It is not  
vod to

to be expected that we can often suffer our selves to be diverted from better Exercises, by Animadverting upon their Libels. If we do not answer every one of them, it is because we pity their Malice, and will neither feed nor humour it by a continual Contradiction. Let them boast their Catalogues of Books not answered as much as they will, we are sure there is more than enough writ to justify our Cause and our Proceedings; and as for those Discharges of Bile and Choler that they throw out upon us, we can bear them as to our own particular; and commit our Cause to him that judges Righteously, that will execute Judgement upon them for all their ungodly Deeds, and the hard Speeches which these Murmurers and Complainers are daily speaking against us. But of some of them we have a just Compassion, and know how

how to make a difference among them; of others we are more justly afraid; and yet we would gladly even save them, pulling them out of this Fire into which they have thrown themselves, and which will, if not prevented, make way to a more intollerable and endless one. From which God of his Mercy preserve them; and preserve all others from being corrupted by their ill Example, or infected with their Contagion.

Post-

## Postscript.

**A**fter I had sent this to the Press, I received two Advertisements from the Hands of one of my Reverend Brethren; he tells me, That Dr. Geomet with Mr. Napleton this Summer at Tunbridge, and among other things this story come to be talked of; but it appeared that this had been related by our Author with the same sincerity that has appeared to run through his whole Book. Mr. Napleton said, That I did indeed ask him several times, Why they did not let King James go? And that he did answer, That the Mob would have torn him in pieces: That within a little while I askt him the same Question again, and that thereupon he ask'd me, Would I have had him torn in pieces? To which he added,  
That

that I replied, God forbid, I abhorred the thought of it. This last part, which explains the whole, was suppressed to represent me as one that would have had him torn in pieces; whereas all my meaning was, that I thought, as was formerly set forth, that since the Gentlemen had got the King into their hands from the Mob, they might have found opportunities to have suffered him to pursue his first Design. But that when I saw he mistook my meaning, I expressed my horror at what he thought might have followed on their attempt to have let him go. If Mr. Napleton has reported this Story always in this manner, as I have reason to believe he has; either this Writer or his Author have shewed a most malicious piece of dissingenuity in representing it as he does.

The same band has likewise advertised me, that whereas there is a saying laid to the Dean of St. Paul's, as delivered by him to Bishop Sheridan; that

L

Bishop

Bishop denies it, and saies he will write to the supposed Author of this Book, to know what his meaning was in fathering such a falshood upon him.

But he who has falsified so many things in which he pretends to write upon certain knowledge, may be very reasonably supposed to have enlarged more copiously in his Hearsay-stories. I have been told that many particulars were gathering, to be transmitted to me for a more full discovery of the malicious Untruths with which this Book is stuffed; but I thought it was not worth the while to stay for them, and that there was enough at hand, to prove that no Credit could be given to so foul a Slanderer, who has not art enough to disguise his Malice, or skill enough to give his falshoods the colours, not to say of Truth, but even of probability.

Page 105. I had said that I was confident no body would ever answer a Libel  
cited



cited by our Author with great approbation. I find I am mistaken, but it is natural to all Men to judge of others by themselves; and so, tho I have a large share of that poor Pamphlet, yet it being so wretchedly writ, that I am resolved to give its Author no sort of Reply, I was apt to think the first part of it, which falls on the late Archbishop, would have been likewise despised, and let go without an Answer. The Book indeed deserved none. But I am heartily glad to see Justice done to the Name of so Great a Man, by one who has answered, not only that Libel, but some parts of this, in so full and so convincing a manner. He has concealed no part of their Objections; and by setting down all those parts of the Archbishop's Sermons upon which these Men have studied to fix their Malice, not only in some short Periods, which malicious Men have made noise with, but in all that went before and after, he gives so fair as well as so true a Representation of that Great Prelate's sense, that I am con-

fident no ill Impressions will stick with any who will be so just as to consider the whole matter, the Vindication as well as the Calumnies, with sincere and equitable Minds.

Page 62, 63. There is a long Account given here of many particulars relating to the Archbishop during his stay at Clare-Hall; upon which a very Worthy Member of that Body has told me, that they have been enquiring into the truth of these, and that they find them to be false. He was admitted to that House, April 23. 1647. It was no wonder if such a fresh Man was not admitted to the Honour of kissing the King's band, when he was in that Neighbourhood two Months after that. It is not likely that he pretended to it, or that it would have been denied, if he had. He was Batchellor of Arts, Midsummer 1650. and became a Fellow before Christmas that Year; Dr. Gunning had been turned out six Years before that; so it cannot be said that he came into his Fellowship.

ship. Men may consider the avoidance that did immediately go before their Admission; but I never heard of any who were so scrupulous as to run the enquiry further. As for his taking on him to alter the Colledge-Grace after Meat, and to add a Special Mention of Worcester Fight; There is no Memory of any such thing that ever hapned in that House. It is not likely, that a Junior Fellow, and so Young a Batchelor of Arts, could have presumed to have done such a thing, or that the Master and Senior Fellows could have suffered it. Dr. Blythe, the present Master, and Dr. Vincent, the Senior Fellow of the House, were admitted soon after that; but never heard of any thing of that nature. Everyone that knows those Bodies, will easily believe that such things are not soon forgot in them. In the Year 1660. as is ordinary upon such Revolutions, all stories of that sort were remembred, and Characters were made of Men accordingly. But this was not then spoke of, and after an Oblivion

Oblivion of 45 Years, a Knight of the Post at last is found who affirms it; but I believe few give any credit to it. These two Reverend Persons do likewise affirm, That the late Archbishop was, as long as they can remember him, the same Modest and good-natur'd Man that we all knew him to be in a higher Elevation. I hear many other Informations of Falshoods in this Book are a gathering, and would probably be sent me if I should stay for them. For I understand, from many hands, that few Books have appeared in memory of Man, that have raised a more general Indignation than this has done. I do not wonder at it, nor at what they add, That this has brought the Party under a more general Prejudice than could have followed upon any thing that could have been writ against them. So true is the Proverb,

Da miei amici mi guarda Dio.

F I N I S.

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The 23<sup>d</sup> of Parson in his answer speaking of my Cousin  
Martin Gayer & that he should detest y<sup>e</sup> schism of y<sup>e</sup> Non-  
jurors. I am confident in this his & ship's memory  
fail. my Cousin was known to be a man of integrity  
& so not likely to speak anything to his & ship's disre-  
putably to me & others: I know y<sup>t</sup> he was so far from  
it y<sup>t</sup> he hath frequently to me expressed himself  
respectfully of such as did upon y<sup>e</sup> account of  
y<sup>e</sup> Archbishop's deprivation or divide in contention  
but he had his reason why he thought there  
was no absolute necessity for it. I never not  
but twice. Once he waited on y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> at his  
first coming by y<sup>e</sup> importunity of some friends  
who had heard y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> say y<sup>t</sup> he wondered y<sup>t</sup> any  
good man should entertain scruples of y<sup>e</sup> kind  
& not communicate them to his Diocese; He went  
therefore charged y<sup>e</sup> Pastoral Letter for y<sup>e</sup>  
main repeated to him, then desiring his  
& ship to leave those things to his considera-  
tion, he took his leave without any dis-  
course of schism; for there was no occasion  
given at that time by any different communion  
in y<sup>e</sup> Diocese. Once more he waited on y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>d</sup>  
(I think twice at florent) but twice in company,  
where if any thing had been mentioned of y<sup>e</sup> nature  
it would have quickly been known. I am well  
satisfied & all y<sup>t</sup> know him must y<sup>t</sup> he was a  
man of greater affection to his suffering  
brethren of greater candour & justice than to  
be supposed capable of such a spiteful saying.

Copy of part of a letter from  
N.M. to C.V.